Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-96-079
Tuesday
23 April 1996

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FBIS-SOV-96-079 *23 April 1996*

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Russia: Zyuganov on Meeting With Clinton, Election

LD2204112196 Moscow NTV in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 96

[Studio interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, by announcer Yevgeniy Kiselev, on the "Itogi" program — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kiselev] In our studio today we have Gennadiy Zyuganov, presidential candidate and leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, who was among those present at the meeting with Clinton at the U.S. ambassador's residence.

Good evening, Gennadiy Andreyevich, thanks for coming. Well, you have heard [Nizhniy Novgorod governor Boris] Nemtsov's point of view, you have heard our correspondent's brief report about what happened at the meeting with Clinton. What are your impressions?

[Zyuganov] In my view, the discussion was a very useful one. On the one hand those who express our point of view were represented — [Svetlana] Goryacheva, [Gennadiy] Seleznev and myself; the so-called third force of [Aleksandr] Lebed and [Grigoriy] Yavlinskiy; and the party of power was broadly represented by the governors and the mayor [Yuriy Luzhkov] of Moscow. We discussed all the problems, from nuclear safety to bilateral relations, and everyone expressed his view on the ongoing processes. Yes, points of view did diverge. We believe that you cannot talk about reforms when there is a 50 percent slump in production, 70 percent in machine-building, 90 percent in light industry, and nearly the same in the military-industrial complex. And when the citizens are growing poorer en masse and production is coming to a halt.

[Kiselev] Did you have the opportunity to express your views on your economic program and what you would do for our Russian economy if you became Russian president — a situation which you have written about so persuasively.

[Zyuganov] We put forth our point of view — it was made public a long time ago, and it is no secret to anyone. We believe that we must find a sensible proportion between state, collective, and private forms of ownership. The state must manage its own property and possess the appropriate revenue for this. We are in favor of true plurality, but the possibility...

[Kiselev, interrupting] Do you mean plurality in terms of the economy?

[Zyuganov] No, no!

[Kiselev] Gennadiy Andreyevich, to be honest, I have read your preelection manifesto, and I could not find any clear answer to such a simple issue as, say, the fight against inflation. Will you continue to pursue a tough anti-inflation policy, or not?

[Kiselev] It is nice to hear that you have already been reading my manifesto!

[Kiselev] Well, I prepared for this interview, our meeting...

[Zyuganov, interrupting] Although it has not been officially published in the press, which should be publishing it. As far as the manifesto is concerned, it is a document aimed at everyone — the person who is relatively uneducated and the academic. It is a political statement and a means of solving [issues]. As far as the specific fight against inflation in the economy is concerned, the State Duma recently, on our initiative, held very extensive hearings. Five academic institutes that are engaged in problems of the economy participated. People who, in my view, hold various points of view, had their say. Our proposals, too, were discussed, including the fight against inflation and a new tax policy that provides for a considerable reduction in taxation and enhancing responsibility for its collection. We discussed proposals connected with a qualitatively new budget and a concept for its formation. In a word, it is only your program that has shown a small feature. The other five said nothing about it. [sentence as heard]

Next week we will discuss our final version and then have a think whether to make it public: we will probably publish it. It will propose measures...

[Kiselev, interrupting] Gennadiy Andreyevich, I would like to hear from you in plain terms. Will you be tough in the fight against inflation? I should better put it this way: will you follow the IMF's recommendations to Russia.

[Zyuganov] We will follow the recommendations that experts and specialists will draw up, based upon the state of the Russian Federation economy.

[Kiselev] What if these diverge from the recommendations of the IMF?

[Zyuganov] Any country is called independent if it is capable of conducting its own economic policy. True, enough debts have been accumulated over the last 10 years for our grandchildren and children — $1,000 a head! The debts have to be paid back, so the economic policy will naturally consider the necessity of paying back the debts on time. But to pay the debts back, we have to earn, not spend all the time drinking and stealing.

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are on the right path. So far the numbers have been the same. Everything is okay.

[Kiselev] Gennadiy Andreyevich, you are being backed, for example, by many left-wing organizations, very left-wing organizations, shall I put it this way without using harsher, emotive words, and you are being backed by national-patriotic organizations, too. What will you repay them with? I believe that almost 5 percent of those who voted for Viktor Anpilov will not give Zyuganov their votes for nothing, if Zyuganov fails to promise Anpilov a post in a government of popular trust, which you so often talk about. Is this so?

[Zyuganov] I have just come back from a long tour: Samara, Ufa, and Chelyabinsk. We convoked a big council of the whole Ural in Chelyabinsk. It was attended by representatives of all the left-wing and centrist organizations, trade unions, organizations of veterans and students, and so on. They discussed my program and made the decision to support me unconditionally. None of those who signed the treaty — and there are more than 200 of them, I repeat — has asked for any extra conditions either from me or from the bloc. This was specified from the very beginning. The formation of a government is a task for a large coalition, and we will sort out this question later. On the other hand, I would like to tell you openly that any official — in the Duma, or anyone who is responsible for managing, working, delivering, heating, or guarding — any official must know that the main criterion is professionalism and integrity. This is the main thing.

[Kiselev] Okay, suppose Viktor Anpilov supports you unselfishly. Are you not contemplating giving him a ministerial portfolio in the government?

[Zyuganov] You see, no one is joining our bloc to get hold of a portfolio. Look here, it is written here: Russia, motherland, people. This is what unites us. If people are coming to us just for the sake of a portfolio, one may have doubts about their sincerity...

[Kiselev, interrupting] I see, I see, but all the same, which portfolio would you offer him?

[Zyuganov] Portfolios will be offered by the coalition, which will discuss the situation and will define the strategy.

[Kiselev] Hold on, you as president — if you become one, of course — you are the head of the executive. You are holding the cards.

[Zyuganov] Yes, I am holding the cards, but the bloc has its own laws. To discuss candidates for ministerial and other posts, we need to convene and discuss the two criteria, I repeat. If he is not a professional and has no sound program and is not able to cope with the situation, his candidacy will not be discussed. Therefore...

[Kiselev, interrupting] But Anpilov, he is a professional, he used to work as a journalist, he was a correspondent of [words indistinct].

[Zyuganov] Anpilov is asking for no extra conditions.

[Kiselev] That is to say you are not reserving the office of minister of information or chairman of the state television and radio company for him in advance.

[Zyuganov] I think the journalists of your program are reserving this office for him.

[Kiselev] Why do you say this?

[Zyuganov] I have already heard this statement before.

[Kiselev] We indeed would regard this event as a natural disaster. On the other hand, we are not working for state television. Nevertheless, I remember quite well that you have promised to announce the composition of the government of national accord in March. We are now in late April, but the talks have produced no results. One may assume that the talks proved much more difficult. Is not it so?

[Zyuganov] No, it is not. You probably have noticed that virtually all the structural organizations have joined our bloc.

[Kiselev] Well, the bloc is one thing, but what about the government of national accord?

[Zyuganov] This decision allows us to play as a single team.

Today, we are completing the preparation of a number of specific programs for the economy, foreign policy, and social welfare. We recently gave thorough consideration to a whole package of laws on protection for the Army and people in uniform. I want to say that all the ministries took part in this — deputy ministers spoke and they spoke out in favor of our program. So we are moving forward confidently in this direction. Regarding election manifestos, I am the only one to have published. The others have not done that yet, although Boris Nikolayev has made a few statements. He is playing hard to get. I have invited him to a debate.

[Kiselev] Gennadiy Andreyevich, this is something I wanted to ask you, since you mention Boris Nikolayevich. How do you explain the fact that your ratings have slowed down a little, while Yeltsin's have started to gradually gain ground on you?

[Zyuganov] This always happens. Before elections, democrats' ratings always jump, and then they slump after the elections. I think that is what happening here.

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[Kiselev] So you suspect the opinion pollsters of foul play?

[Zyuganov] No, I do not. But I am a professional in this area myself, a researcher. For example, I can remember Gaydar having a 60 percent rating. And when the elections came, he got 15 percent.

[Kiselev] Gennadiy Andreyevich, that is not true. Forgive me, but that is communist campaign talk. Gaydar never had a 60 percent rating.

[Zyuganov] I heard he did, at least. I trust the pollsters. They give me polls for the whole country every two weeks, and I know what the results are on some other polls as well. We will see.

[Kiselev] But you never complained before about those polls that are now showing a rise in the president's fortunes.

[Zyuganov] I am not talking about polls.

[Kiselev] When they were more in your favor, Gennadiy Andreyevich.

[Zyuganov] Yevgeniy Alekseyevich, I have just been through Ryazan, Smolensk, and central Russia, the Volga, the Urals, the Altay. In [placename indistinct] 15,000 people came to the town square to show their support, that is one adult in three. In Lipetsk there were nearly 20,000. The sports center at Voronezh was packed. Incidentally, you ran some reports on this. I can sense the audience's mood.

[Kiselev] That is the second time you mentioned that we have been running reports on you. You used to say NTV should drop the N [for nezavisimoye — independent].

[Zyuganov] [laughs]

[Kiselev] Although in fact the N doesn't stand for Nezavisimoye.

[Zyuganov] Look, Channel 1 has been privatized, Channel 2 has been given an obedient boss. And your boss has been dispatched to Boris Nikolayevich's campaign headquarters. By European standards...

[Kiselev, interrupting] What do you mean, dispatched? Igor Yevgeniyevich Malashenko is not a civil servant. He decided as a citizen to join [passage incomprehensible as both men speak at once].

[Zyuganov] This is what we suggest: let us check out Channels 1 and 2...

[Kiselev, interrupting] And if it was otherwise, then you would not be sitting here in our studio.

[Zyuganov] Well, maybe.

[Kiselev] We invited you a whole two weeks ago, when you were criticizing us for...

[Zyuganov, interrupting] Then let me take the opportunity provided in this program. Let us ask Channels 1 and 2. I represent a faction that is backed by at least 15 million votes. Taxpayers pay tax for Channel 1 and 2. They should provide 40 minutes for a debate with Boris Nikolayevich, and we will be happy to take him on.

[Kiselev] Well, it is up to Boris Nikolayevich to decide whether he wants a public televised debate with you.

[Zyuganov] Incidentally, it is envisaged in a law...

[Kiselev, interrupting] Do you think you will get the free air time from 15 April, as required by law? The free air time on Channels 1 and 2, or do you have your doubts about this?

[Zyuganov] We will see.

[Kiselev] Well, all right. No doubt we will have to wait and see what happens from 15 April. Good, I wanted to ask you about Chechnya. You said — when you were in [word indistinct], I think — that you have speedy solutions to the Chechen crisis. What are they?

[Zyuganov] There is no speedy solution there. But right from the start there have been good solutions. Today, determination and wisdom has to be displayed in bringing out this solution. For a long time we have been proposing a plan for such a solution. For instance, why did we have to have 1.5 years of war before setting up the commission headed by [Viktor] Chernomyrdin? It should have been set up within three hours of the start of the conflict.

A meeting can and must be held. Such a meeting has just been held in Chechnya. I believe this will give some impetus, but a forum of the people of the North Caucasus must also be held. All the neighbors are interested in peace — 70,000 Akintsy-Chechens [name usually given to Chechens living in Dagestan] live in Dagestan, in Khasavyurt. It is the same in Ingushetia. If the people of the North Caucasus make a decision on peace and the restoration of peace at their forum, I assure you that many — even the hard-liners — will agree to this.

Procedures connected with a possible amnesty must also be used more effectively. Let them lay down their weapons and facilitate this amnesty. At the same time, the supply of fresh bandit gangs and weapons must be discouraged by localizing them. This worries everybody greatly, as you know. This must be tackled 24 hours a day. I am afraid that Chernomyrdin...

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[Kiselev, interrupting] But the president's plan, which incidentally the communist press often criticizes as being capitulationist, includes provision for an amnesty, talks, meetings of elders, an all-Chechen forum, and many other things.

[Zyuganov] But it is developing very slowly. Remember how many of our men fell into that ambush. All these measures must be pursued more vigorously. On the other hand, I realize that the ones who begin wars are not normally trusted. So, we need people who are capable of holding talks that can result in the signing of a peace agreement.

[Kiselev] But there is another aspect to this, you know. I do not know your point of view. After all, it is perfectly possible that if Dudayev and his supporters agree to real talks and allow some progress to be made, they could earn the president some additional points in his election campaign. What I mean is that Dzhokhar Musayevich [Dudayev] might help Yeltsin get reelected.

[Zyuganov] Points are not important here. The important thing is human life and the great national, nationwide tragedy that affects all the people of the country. We see this every day. So, here we have to resolve the problem of peace. If peace can be successfully achieved, everybody will be thankful no matter who brings it about.

[Kiselev] But if you become president, will you agree to direct talks with Dudayev?

[Zyuganov] We have long been proposing talks among all interested parties, all warring parties.

[Kiselev] Direct talks, I stress.

[Zyuganov] All warring parties, I stress. Preliminary consultations have to be held to this end. You have just mentioned...

[Kiselev, interrupting] Yes.

[Zyuganov] With everybody involved in that conflict there, with Dudayev too.

[Kiselev] How do you assess him, in general?

[Zyuganov] I do not know him well. I will not presume to assess him.

[Kiselev] But [word indistinct] personal acquaintance.

[Zyuganov] But the roots of this war are, I think, to be found in Moscow rather than in Groznyy. If Moscow had not wanted this war, it would have stopped it right at the start.

[Kiselev] In one of his recent interviews, the leader of the Chechen separatists, Dudayev, said that he himself was prepared to have talks with the communists since — let me quote — they are reasonable people. That is what he said. If you are offered some form of contact, how will you react?

[Zyuganov] One of our party managers, Petrovskiy, was there from the very first day of the war and spent three weeks there.

[Kiselev] The start of the war?

[Zyuganov] Yes. He held talks with all the warring sides. And I want to repeat this: first we will study all the sides' positions and we are ready to sit at the negotiating table with everyone who is involved in this conflict. There will not be peace without that, if any side refuses to talk. To establish peace, you need a shared desire to meet and talk.

[Kiselev] Let us suppose the Chechen side — I beg your pardon, the Dudayev side, I mean, the implacable Chechen side — insists on the independence of Chechnya. How would you react to that?

[Zyuganov] Our manifesto states directly: all people are responsible for the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation. The territorial collapse of the country means exacerbation of the situation and an increase in conflict situations all over the Russian Federation. It will be a general calamity. It is, therefore, a matter of preserving territorial integrity. Regarding status, this must be discussed with all interested parties.

[Kiselev] Gennadiy Andreyevich, what about withdrawing the troops?

[Zyuganov] We proposed a long time ago that there is no need to keep the troops in places where there is no war, where there is no calamity. As for dangerous areas, the military are right here, we must heed them, otherwise the conflict will grow again and will affect not only Chechnya but other regions, too. We have nearly 18,000,000 people living between the Caspian and the Black Seas. It will be not just a Russian calamity but a global one.

[Kiselev] Does that mean pull the troops out, or not pull them out?

[Zyuganov] It is the military who should make decisions about troops. If you withdraw the troops and the next day a load of weapons and reinforcements is airlifted in...

[Kiselev, interrupting] Excuse me, but withdrawing the troops is a political decision. You are saying the military would decide without you if you became president after winning on 16 June. Would the military make decisions like that without you?

[Zyuganov] No they would not.

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[Kiselev] Or will there be some kind of coalition? [brief incomprehensible passage as both talk at once]

[Zyuganov] This whole issue needs to be thoroughly discussed in the Security Council, taking all sides into account. In the case at issue, we are talking about a military conflict. And in a war, if you make such a decision without the military, you will simply be told you do not know what you are talking about.

[Kiselev] Gennadiy Andreyevich, we have been talking live on air for quite a long time now. To conclude our conversation, there is one more question I would like to ask you. This week, or just under a week ago, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn touched on a fairly controversial theme connected with the Communist Party and with our history. I would like to show you another excerpt and to find out your attitude toward this.

[Begin Solzhenitsyn recording] If you are patriots, take Lenin off your banner and out of the Mausoleum too, for good measure. It is just about time. Because Lenin used to say proudly: We, Bolsheviks, are anti-patriots. Lenin used to say: Great Russian scum — about Russia and the Russian people. [end recording]

[Kiselev] Tomorrow is 22 April, Lenin's birthday. Would you like to comment on the point of view of our great writer?

[Zyuganov] There are two ideas that have been promoted in Russia from time immemorial: the idea of high spirituality and the idea of statehood. When these ideas merged, Russia and our allies flourished and were examples of heroism and creativity. I stand for merging the two ideas. The name of Lenin should not be taken in vain. Lenin is recognized by the whole of humanity as a politician and as a major statesman. He came in April 1917 to a Russia that had fallen apart, and passed into the other world leaving Russia with a strong ruble, a unified union state, and the New Economic Policy.

[Kiselev] I do not quite get it: are you going to celebrate Lenin's birthday?

[Zyuganov] It is a national holiday, all cultured people must without fail celebrate this day.

[Kiselev] I think, however, that many cultured people will not join you tomorrow, I am sorry to say.

[Zyuganov] Well, everyone has the choice.

[Kiselev] Gennadiy Andreyevich, thank you for the interview.

Russia: Zyuganov Waging 'Incredibly Complex' Campaign

MM2204124796 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Apr 96 p 2

[Article by political analyst Aleksandr Babinskiy: "Alien Territory. Attempt To Broaden Communist Electorate Fails"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Time is running out until the presidential election. The ratings of the main contenders seem to have stood still of late. Moreover, they have stood still at levels which do not guarantee victory for any contender. Fierce rivalry is forcing the presidential contenders to take unexpected and extremely risky steps. Boris Yeltsin has set off for regions where his irreconcilable opponents have traditionally been strong. In particular his visits to Belgorod Oblast and Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays should be recognized as a fairly desperate move. Reformers do not seem to be in demand in these regions.

It is well known that a penchant for risk-taking that borders on adventurism is Boris Yeltsin's "trademark." Gennadiy Zyuganov seems to be the complete opposite of his political enemy in this regard. He is noted for his calm, circumspect, gradual approach.

However, even this experienced apparatchik campaigner has not proved devoid of adventurism. After his "success" (from the Communist viewpoint) in Voronezh and Lipetsk, Zyuganov traveled to Samara, Ufa, and Chelyabinsk. Which, logically speaking, he should not have done. Primarily because the political climate there is not conducive to a Communist election spectacular.

The Ural region, as is well known from the school literature course, is the bastion of the state, the center of its mining and metals industry. It has an exceptionally high concentration of industry and consequently of people employed there (proletariat, to use Marxist terminology). Despite this the Ural region for some reason persistently fails to favor the Communists. In terms of extreme left-wingers' unpopularity the Ural region can only compete with capitals "tainted by the intelligentsia." It is hard to explain this surprising fact from the immortal and one true doctrine.

The reason is evidently that modern industry (even our half-ruined industry) requires not just workers but skilled workers. And a certain level of skills and professional grounding is generally incompatible with Communist ideology....

Some people may still remember that Marxist classical scholars discovered the theory of the relative and absolute impoverishment of the proletariat. According to

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this theory, it turned out that the impoverishment of the working people — from the global historical viewpoint — is a positive factor that brings the final triumph of the socialist idea closer. Communists believe that the impoverishment of the working people is grist to their mill even now. They are not trying to hide the fact that this is the main element in their political success.

Therefore in those parts of Russia where people are indeed trying to implement reform, the Communist Party's positions are noticeably weaker than within the "red belt." The main authors of the "Reds'" success there should be considered to be not so much the members of the left-wing opposition but the representatives of the so-called "executive vertical," which is ostensibly under the president's command.

Samara, for instance, could not be the "promised land" for presidential candidate Zyuganov. Reforms are under way in the oblast despite everything and the local leadership is making no attempt to flirt with the Communist Party.

Bashkortostan is a "risky zone" for Gennadiy Zyuganov for a different reason. It is a national republic. The times when the Communists laid the emphasis on proletarian internationalism are long gone. Today they form an integral (main) part of the "people's-patriotic opposition." Today they are mastering great-power vocabulary at an accelerated rate, enriching Leninism with the ideas of Uvarov and Pobedonostsev, dragging out the old sacred cows about the "Third Rome" and "Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and Nationality." Understandably, the new role played by yesterday's internationalists generates suspicion, to put it mildly, in the national republics.

However, candidate Zyuganov's unfortunate choice of destinations is only half the trouble or even less. Ultimately candidates are not allowed to choose their people. They have to work with what is available. The backdrop to the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] leader's election travels proved extremely unfavorable.

The results of the Legislative Assembly elections have been summed up in Sverdlovsk Oblast. The Communists, who gained major success in the December parliamentary elections, are still dismally failing in the local elections. In Sverdlovsk Oblast they won just 16 percent of the vote, lagging considerably behind the "Transformation of the Fatherland" bloc led by Governor Eduard Rossel (36 percent). Meanwhile the importance of the elections in Yekaterinburg should not be underestimated: The oblast constitutes a kind of Russian political barometer. You may recall that Administration Head Strakhov lost to Rossel in the 1995 gubernatorial elections; that was the first alarm signal for the Russia Is Our Home movement, on which the authorities had pinned such hopes and whose success ultimately proved extremely modest.

Mindful of all the facts, one must admit that a CPRF victory in Yekaterinburg would be surprising. But the point is that this defeat was by no means the first for the Communists.

In late February the CPRF completely lost the mayoral elections in Stavropol Kray where you would have thought that its positions seemed extremely strong. In late March the Communists lost the municipal elections in Moscow Oblast's Serpukhovskiy Rayon. (This is thought to be the start of Moscow's "red belt"). The CPRF lost plenty of mandates after the Altay Kray parliamentary elections. The Communists also suffered defeat in the Omsk Legislative Assembly byelections: Their rivals were 50-100 percent ahead of them. The elections to municipal organs of power in Zhukovskiy (Moscow Oblast) ended equally deplorably for the CPRF. The Communist Party candidate won 24 percent of the vote while his rival got 70 percent.

Against this backdrop Gennadiy Zyuganov's promises to win victory in the first round seem unconvincing.

This phase of the Communist leader's election campaign coincided with vigorous efforts by Boris Yeltsin to find new "bases of support." Yeltsin did not forget the heads of local administrations, many of whom were seen to covertly and overtly sympathize with the Communists. Yeltsin evidently has something to offer regional bosses in return for their loyalty. The Russian bureaucracy has once again demonstrated its inexhaustible pragmatism. Administration heads are now painstakingly avoiding the "future Russian president." And you can easily understand their point. Many people are really afraid that Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov is the hostage of his own party. The party will not spare the "collaborators" who cooperate for all that "with the antipeople regime," even if Gennadiy Andreyevich himself magnanimously forgives them.

Zyuganov cannot make any clear promises in the current situation. His speeches are not becoming any more specific although the time left until voting day is running out.

The CPRF leader is performing an incredibly complex task. He needs to somehow broaden his electorate, which has already been 100-percent mobilized. He needs to find new supporters come what may without losing his old ones. A virtually insoluble task. That is why Zyuganov prefers to make do with his usual rhetoric and generalities. However that too is becoming increasingly difficult.

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The Communists did not intend publishing their economic program. They wanted to confine themselves to an election platform. But that is not working. Gennadiy Zyuganov promised voters in Samara that an economic program would be submitted in late April and said at the same time that eight institutes are working on it. However, it is obvious even now that the eight institutes will not save the father of the Russian restoration: No matter how clever his economic program, it will hardly boost the number of his supporters.

Meanwhile the sole candidate fielded by the people's-patriotic opposition is still shocking his most devoted supporters. During his visit to Bashkortostan he suddenly started talking about the irreversibility of economic reforms and the Communists' firm intention of continuing them, albeit by some "other (unknown — author's note) methods and means." The socially concerned candidate stated his intention of lowering taxes. At the same time he intends to obtain the funds needed for social programs by selling state [kazennyy] alcohol (I wonder how that squares with the CPRF's program task of improving the people's physical and mental health? After all, the national leader will have to sell the alcohol in such volumes that if, God forbid, it is drunk, this will mean that there will be no one left for him to worry about). The Russian patriot swore loyalty to Bashkir sovereignty there. Gennadiy Andreyevich honestly admitted his orthodox leanings to his devotees among former Komsomol members and former atheists.... Thus, the election program of the "sole candidate" will soon muddle everything once and for all, including Gennadiy Zyuganov himself.

Meanwhile the country's leading Communist is assiduously avoiding all the truly topical problems of the day, be it Chechnya, the struggle against crime, or military reform. Against this backdrop Boris Yeltsin with his election initiatives and maneuvers looks different.

Russia: Communist Parties Unite Behind Zyuganov

LD2004210696 Moscow NTV in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Apr 96

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] ["Segodnya" announcer Vladimir Kara-Murza] About 80 organizations of Russian army veterans have announced their support in the presidential elections for Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov. The congress of the RKP-KPSS [Russian Communist Party - Communist Party of the Soviet Union], which took place in Moscow today, made the same decision.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent, over video of congress participants assembling, Jewish symbols] Moscow's Jewish Theater, Shalom, had a full house today, but a rather unusual one, given the makeup of the audience. The theater troupe is on tour in the United States — while the communists assembled here. The delegates of the RKP-KPSS congress and frequenters of red-patriotic rallies registered directly underneath posters advertising emigration to Israel. [passage omitted]

The meeting was called, of course, because of the upcoming presidential elections and the real opportunity of coming to power, for the sake of which all squabbles and insults, which at various times gave birth to so many dwarf communist parties, have been forgotten. But there is a time to scatter and a time to gather together the weapons of the proletariat.

[RKKP-KPSS leader Aleksey Prigarin, shown standing in front of Soviet flag and banner bearing Lenin's head] Our main strategy in the election campaign should consist of unconditional support for the candidacy of Gennadiy Zyuganov, because for us his victory is a step toward socialism.

[Correspondent] The RKP-KPSS ruled that it was binding for all party members to vote for Zyuganov, even if not all of them have complete faith in him. In spite of petty differences of opinion, it is proposed not to criticize Zyuganov in public. And since they do not want to praise him either, it was decided to concentrate attention on criticism of Boris Yeltsin and the bourgeois regime.

And there is one further ruling: Do not count on work with the masses ending on 16 June.

[Prigarin] We must in advance prepare our comrades in arms, our comrades, for energetic mass action after the elections, too: Both to defend a left-wing president against possible unpleasantnesses for the new power; and also in order to exert a certain pressure on the new power from below to ensure that the election campaign promises are fulfilled. And only this sort of combination of joint actions from above and below will ensure a genuinely peaceful, genuinely bloodless stage of the socialist revolution. [end recording]

Russia: Shakkum To Be Registered as Presidential Candidate

LD2004125596 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1150 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Ekho Moskvy radio station has learned that the Supreme Court has deemed illegal the Central Electoral Commission resolution refusing to

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register Martin Shakkum, vice president of the International Foundation for Economic and Social Reforms and chairman of the Socialist People's Party, as a candidate in the Russian presidential elections.

The Supreme Court also ordered the Central Electoral Commission to register Martin Shakkum as a presidential candidate by 23 April and to give him the appropriate certificate.

Russia: Shakkum's Socialist People's Party Profiled

MK2304074796 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 96 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Nalezhin: "One More Socialist Party Appears"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Thursday [18 April] saw the founding congress for a socialist party of Russia. Martin Shakkum, doctor of political science and vice president of the "Reforma" fund, was elected chairman of the party, whose full name is the Socialist People's Party (SNP). The head of the fund, Stanislav Shatalin, was included in the party's Political Council among other well-known political figures. Reading the new organization's program and hearing the answers of its leaders to journalists' questions leaves no doubt that the SNP has a social democratic trend with a moderate patriotic bias so popular with politicians nowadays. The usual stock of goals — such as social security for the population, protection of Russian producers, rebuilding the country's defense capability, smooth reintegration of the former USSR republics primarily on the economic basis — leave no doubt on this score.

The abundance of kindred-spirit parties does not seem to put off the leaders of the new political entity. The SNP, with a membership of not more than 5,000, intends to become in the future a big party of hundreds of thousands members — precisely in the same way as its "rival:" the Socialist Party of Working People [SPT] (leader, Lyudmila Vartazarova) and the Socialist Party of Russia (leader, Ivan Rybkin).

Martin Shakkum stated that he was awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court regarding the refusal of the Central Electoral Commission to register him as candidate for the country's presidency. Shakkum says 1,415,000 signatures were gathered in his support. He also said that "we entered the campaign too late and we are reproaching ourselves for it."

Like a vast majority of the aspirants for the presidential seat, Martin Shakkum stated he did not see anyone, not only among the leading pack of five but even among the top seven candidates, but his own person who was worthy of filling the top government position.

Giving details of his party's ideological platform and wishing to dissociate himself from the Communists, its leader said that, unlike the latter, who plan to proceed from socialism to communism, the SNP will proceed from socialism to social democracy.

Taking a question on possible alliance with the other Socialists, Shakkum stated that he had nothing against Lyudmila Vartazarova's SPT, and with regard to Ivan Rybkin he remarked that the objective of the latter's socialist party was to get registered and declare it was behind the candidacy of Boris Yeltsin in the upcoming election.

Russia: Gorbachev: Party Nomenclature May Take Revenge at Elections

LD1904203296 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1809 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KRASNOYARSK, April 19 (Interfax-Eurasia) — Mikhail Gorbachev, campaigning for the Russian presidency in Krasnoyarsk Friday, warned that a victory by Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov would be a victory for those former bureaucrats who have lost influence under the new system.

A Zyuganov victory "would signal a political revanche by the party nomenclature, who would slam Russia down," Gorbachev said.

Gorbachev took responsibility for miscalculations and mistakes of perestroyka started by him from himself, but he also pointed out the benefits of democratization of the society and complained of the fact that the transformations started by him were continued by reforms which resulted in hard social consequences.

Russia: Moscow Mayor Urges Russians To Reelect Yeltsin

LD2004205596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1635 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 20 (Interfax) — Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov has urged Russian citizens to vote for re- election of Boris Yeltsin as Russian President at the June 1996 presidential elections.

Luzhkov told Interfax when visiting a construction site in Moscow Saturday that he was confident that "Russians will make the right choice and will opt for the continuation of reforms."

"If the Communists win the (presidential) elections, confrontation in the society may develop into armed confrontation and result in bloodshed," Luzhkov said. "People should realize what they will vote for: for

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normal development and for overcoming difficulties or for a return to the past," he added.

Moscow residents will support Yeltsin in the presidential elections because they know how important the development of Moscow is for the present president, Luzhkov said. "The rest of Russia should also realize that (we) must not turn backward," he said.

Russia: Local Media Pressured Into Being Pro-Yeltsin

MM2204105896 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 96 p 4

[Article by Boris Krapivin: "Varnishing the Unpleasant Truth. Who Is Pulling the Strings in the Russian Press?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia's fate — will Russia embark on the road of revival or continue down the path toward disaster — will be decided soon. Candidates are traveling around the remoter parts of Russia — some to strengthen their positions, others to beg the people's forgiveness for their sins. It is clear why the halls being used for meetings with presidential candidates in Russian towns and cities are full to overflowing — it is not often that big-time politicians deign to give attention to the provinces, although they have always been the basis of Russia. Nor is the Russian provincial press ignoring the candidates' visits. It often enjoys more trust among people in the provinces than the central press. Because the people working for it live right next door and have the same problems to think about. And leanings toward populism and the instilling of outside ideas have always been alien to the Russian provincial press.

But let us take a look at oblast newspaper pages fresh from the press. Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov was recently given a warm welcome by inhabitants of Voronezh and Lipetsk Oblasts. So what does the press there have to say? For some reason new names which have never been known to anybody on these papers have started featuring in their pages. So you have oblast newspapers which previously you would have never suspected of political prejudice — NEZAVISIMYY KURYER [Independent Courier], DE-FAKTO, and others, including leading rayon newspapers — saying: "Communism Will Be Buried Beneath the Wreckage of the Printing Press"; "Boris Yeltsin Is in Good Spirits and Ready for Victory" (a comment by some psychologist obviously from the capital); "The Red Belt Has Turned Pink," and other similar items giving the impression of a "common view." And, as we have ascertained, the names of the writers at the bottom of these items have nothing to do with the people who work for these newspapers.

So just what do these articles mean? Theirs is a simple task: To declare that black is white and vice versa and create the impression that Boris Yeltsin is ahead of all the other candidates and that people are again prepared to trust him at the coming elections. And — first and foremost — to smear Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov at any price and paint a picture of people turning away from socialism and preferring their current destitute existence to the restoration of order and social justice. Thus, oblast and rayon newspapers have been carrying items like "A Restrained Ploy," which attempted to equate the people who welcomed the Communist candidate with the rampaging handfuls of "democratic crazies" who attempted to spoil people's big day when they were meeting with the people's candidate.

Boris Yeltsin only had to arrives in Krasnodar and Stavropol for VOLNYY KUBAN [Free Kuban], STAVROPOLSKIYE IZVESTIYA [Stavropol News], and 'STAVROPOLSKIYE GUBERNSKIYE NOVOSTI [Stavropol Provincial News] to start carrying items like: "Regions Changing the Balance of Forces"; "Boris Yeltsin Will Help Agrarians To Survive..."; "Yeltsin's Chances in the North Caucasus Improving".... All making the same point — either Yeltsin or war. The regions are turning toward the president. The president will give you everything — all you have to do is vote for him. The headlines speak for themselves, and you get the feeling that there is a single hand guiding the writers. Shame on you, gentlemen journalists!

Editors are kept completely in the dark about where these items come from. You sense behind these texts (I will refrain from citing any more; those who are still not familiar with "democratic" rhetoric should go to the library) the hand not of a bored bureaucrat but of unscrupulous, stop-at-nothing supporters of the present authorities who in 1993 were among those demanding "destroy the lice" — that is, you and me. And if you can understand why items "issued" from the Kremlin are being published under pressure from the president's local representatives, even though this does no credit to media chiefs, overtly deceiving people is a crime against all norms of journalism, not to mention conscience.

Who needs this deception? The answer is obvious. On the one hand, the representatives of local administrations and legislative assemblies who wish to keep their options open. But behind their backs you can discern forces with no qualms about using any means to achieve their cherished objective — continuing the era of shameless plundering of our national wealth. Let us remember the classic axiom: There is no crime which capital will not commit for a 200- percent profit. And in

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view of the threat that the era of the timeservers living off the people's wealth (known in "democrat" parlance as "professional regional elites") is coming to an end, a blatant lie is as nothing to them.

Here is a brand-new example from the central press: Even NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA permitted itself to publish this week "as an advertisement" the item "The Elections in Sverdlovsk Oblast as a Mirror of a Turning Point in the Course of the Presidential Election Campaign," in which the (far from unequivocal) results of the local elections are portrayed as virtually a "triumph" for the "democrats." Evidently the local sycophants were really keen to toady to Moscow in earnest since they are prepared to mislead their bosses even in the capital.

All these are pitiful efforts. The people do not vote in accordance with fabricated "ratings." The shame is solely upon those who proudly describe themselves as the "fourth branch of power" but are prepared to surrender this power to anybody in power who shouts most threateningly.

Russia: Presidential Candidate Tuleyev Profiled

964F1916A Moscow OGONEK in Russian Apr 96 No 15, pp 16-19

[Roundup of articles under the rubric "The Presidential Marathon": "Aman Tuleyev: A Bolshevik Without a Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

A Reserve Player: Politicians' View

[Ella PAMFILOVA] The Communists are trying to put a good face on a bad situation. They are not as united as they pretend. And many do not believe in Zyuganov's chances anyway. They will make the final decision right before the elections...

The current Constitution does not provide for a vice president. Thus, what kind of pair can Tuleyev make with Zyuganov in the individual race for this post? It looks like a cover. The dominating factors are vanity and ambition.

[Galina STAROVOYTOVA] Judging by publications, Tuleyev's rating is not high. Although, naturally, it would be advantageous for members of national minorities, especially Muslim peoples, to nominate their own candidate for president.

On the other hand, Aman Tuleyev is more inclined to represent the interests of the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] than those of national minorities.

I am not very familiar with the Communists' internal kitchen, but to the extent of my knowledge of their tactical plans, they intended to proceed on a rather wide front, nominating different candidates. And all these candidates, if they are nominated, could then work with different parts of the electorate, including those who are not too receptive to Gennadiy Zyuganov, and then later deliver their votes—and accordingly, their electorate's support—to one CPRF leader.

Tuleyev is a good public speaker. Although our beliefs differ, I would view him as a worthy political opponent. It cannot be ruled out that, as anyone nominated from the CPRF, he will later begin playing his own game. After all, Zhirinovskiy, whose party initially was created as a CPSU-obedient alternative to Democratic Russia, is beginning to play his own game.

[Viktor ANPILOV] I personally believe that Zyuganov should not be the only one to represent the interests of the left flank of the social spectrum—other candidates are needed, too.

What could be done in this respect is to have other candidates, including Tuleyev, register, but... on condition of full observance of the agreement that they would not only support but also promote and use the time allotted for them on radio and television for a united candidate of the national-patriotic forces—Zyuganov.

Right now the opinion is gaining momentum in the broad coalition of leftist forces that all who have been collecting signatures should withdraw their nomination and support only Zyuganov.

I am against the institution of the presidency. I believe that the office of president should be used to open the door for the restoration of Soviet power, the drafting and adoption of a Soviet constitution, convening a congress of soviets, and at it, repealing the institution of the presidency. Keeping in mind this situation, Zyuganov cannot be hurt by having a good helper, who enjoys people's trust—Tuleyev. I do not see any point in restrictions on presidential powers until a Soviet constitution is adopted. If Yeltsin decides he wants a vice president today, he will create this job.

[Boris FEDOROV] Tuleyev does not stand a chance. Why is he running? And why are Bryntsalov, or Sv. Fedorov, or even Zhirinovskiy running? In truth, nobody has a chance. Tuleyev and Bryntsalov are more or less of the same kind. Well, the man participated in previous elections... perhaps, this is personal promotion, ambition, or perhaps he will withdraw at the last moment in favor of Zyuganov.

He could, however, take votes away from Zyuganov. That is, from Yeltsin's standpoint, Tuleyev's nomina-

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tion is not the worst that could happen. Tuleyev is in a way the communist counterpart of Yavlinskiy.

In reality, the Communists have never been truly and completely united. That is, they have the same problems as the democrats in this respect.

[Aleksey MITROFANOV] Of course, he has ambitions, but at this point he is not a national-scale figure. And from a purely technical standpoint it is difficult for him because he lives in the provinces. To make a career as an "all-Union" politician one has to live in Moscow. You have to be visible all the time.

He will not gather any support except in several oblasts. He is like a reserve player in soccer.

Just in case something happens to Zyuganov: a heart attack or something else—you never know.

[Viktor ILYUKHIN] Aman Tuleyev is worthy of a high position in the state. He is a top-notch professional and has communication and managerial skills. The man is well-known in the country. But the situation today is such (apparently, the logic of history also is such) that the man who is running for the top spot is Gennadiy Zyuganov, who possesses just as many good qualities: He is quite well read and is well brought-up in every respect.

I do not think that Aman Tuleyev will take votes away from Gennadiy Zyuganov. And if he does in the first round, they will come back in the run-off.

The Voters' View

"If the presidential elections in Russia were held next Sunday, who would you vote for?" (Only the answers of those who have decided to participate in the elections were counted. The question was open-ended, that is, no list of names was read)

(Name—January/February/March)

1. G. Zyuganov—16/23/22; 2. B. Yeltsin—7/9/17; 3. G. Yavlinskiy—10/7/7; 4. V. Zhirinovskiy—8/10/8; 5. A. Lebed: 6/6/6; 6. Sv. Fedorov—5/4/4; 7. V. Chernomyrdin—4/3/2; 8. Ye. Gaydar— 2/2/2; 9. B. Nemtsov—1/2/2; 10. A. Tuleyev—1/1/1; Others—15/9/8; no opinion—25/24/21.

"If in the runoff elections you had to choose between Yeltsin and Zyuganov, which one would you vote for, or would you vote against both, or would you not vote at all?"

(Answer—January/February/March)

For Yeltsin—21/27/33; for Zyuganov—41/39/36; against both— 21/22/18; would not vote at all in the runoff—7/4/3; no opinion— 10/8/10.

VTsIOM specialists on commission from "Itogi" [television program] polled a representative sample of the population of Russia. Responses in percents.

Aman Tuleyev: Selected Works

On himself: Friends accuse me of excessive sensitivity and sentimentality, of taking everything too much to heart. I cannot do things differently.

I am a "self-devouring" kind of person: If I falter somewhere and do the wrong thing, this will already be not Tuleyev but someone else. I will literally gnaw away at myself.

On his ethnic origins: Who am I, after all—with this kind of face, and on top of that keeping in mind many people's sensitivity these days to the question of ethnic origin?... I cannot walk around broadcasting on every street corner that from kindergarten to the Academy of Social Sciences I have lived as a Russian. And it remains to be seen who is more Russian: Tuleyev or someone who trumpets it.

On businessmen friends: They (businessmen) come and say: We will help you. Plus, they know me from working together. Because where did a lot of businessmen come from? I worked with them. People say that I am against entrepreneurship. I cannot possibly be against entrepreneurship because one of my sons is engaged in this—entrepreneurship.

On politician friends: I do in fact have a lot of friends... Fedorov. I am about to have a meeting with him. Despite his teaming up with Sobchak. Why did Fedorov get into this mess? I used to say to him: "Svyatoslav, why do you need this? You are an intelligent man—can you not see that you are being used? We have no disagreements with Fedorov. Zyuganov. Practically no disagreements with him either... Lapshin, the Agrarian Party. No problems."

On his opponents: The government is a snake. Specifically—the chairman of the government; specifically—Malyshev; specifically— Shafranik. The Federation Council is toothless, because the president owns the parliament. (December 1994).

On the election campaign: "I did not spend long evenings inventing my program, let alone commission it from theoreticians. I simply did not have time for that... I huddled in a hotel room with my friend, candidate of law Yu.A. Yevtyukhov from Kemerovo, and we rather quickly systematized the theses of my speeches and publications." (The 1991 presidential candidate's program)

On the decision to run: I will be running for the job of head of state in the event Boris Yeltsin runs (26 December 1995).

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Aman Tuleyev told POSTFAKTUM that his decision to run for president of Russia will not depend on Boris Yeltsin's decision on this matter (15 February 1996).

I do not intend to run either for the State Duma or the Federation Council. I believe that these elections are illegal; this is a dirty game, and I will lose my dignity if I participate in these elections. I cannot step over myself... The blood has not yet dried, and I will be running for Yeltsin's pocket parliament?

Two months later: I have reconsidered, given it a lot of thought, consulted with friends... I ran again and was elected to the Federation Council.

On the restoration of the USSR: I have no place to live until I unite Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Belarus; as a man, I am finished. I feel positive about this decision (denunciation of Belovezhskaya Accord). It should have been done earlier.

On Russia's composition: I proposed to consider the question of creating a Siberian Republic consisting of Kemerovo, Tomsk, and Novosibirsk Oblasts and Altay Kray.

On power: Power is contagious, and not in the sense of giving orders. It is the responsibility. It is the scale. You get infected by this scale.

A Political Scientist's View: Love Is Blind...

Aman Tuleyev is a typical and at the same time unique phenomenon in Russian political life. Typical in his set of simplistic formulae characteristic of all members of the "communist-patriotic opposition."

It is irrelevant that the "formula" proposed yesterday may be different from today's—frequently precisely the reverse. Tuleyev, for instance, tells voters why he decided to run for president as early as 1991. Because, it turns out, he saw and understood what kind of dead end Gaydar and Chubays, under Yeltsin's protection, could lead the country into. It does not faze him at all that in the spring of 1991 Gaydar and Chubays not only were not yet in power but nobody, except maybe 10 economists, knew who they were!

Tuleyev is not fazed by possible accusations of being inconsistent, or, the reverse, of consistently changing the polarity of his position from plus to minus and back. At each concrete moment he unhesitatingly makes a "pragmatic" move that lets him stay in power and climb another step up the power ladder. In February 1992 the parliamentary commission on investigation of the circumstances of the August putsch confirmed Tuleyev's contacts with the GKChP [State Committee on the State of Emergency] and the fact of his participation in organizing measures to impose a state of emergency. Aman Gumirovich submitted his resignation from the post of oblast soviet chairman, but at the end of February had already withdrawn his letter of resignation.

The situation developed in a similar manner with respect to his own participation in the elections, the Belovezhskaya Accord, the Social Accord Agreement, and so on.

Tuleyev's uniqueness lies in his boundless charisma that does not fade with the years or political tribulations. Tuleyev is liked because... he is liked. There are concrete deeds in his "luggage." And even his image is not that of an economic manager but of an orator, a public politician. His cavalry attacks on complex economic problems provide to a certain extent the idea of the possible consequences of his presidency: In 1991 he handed out R63 million (serious money in those times) to the needy elderly. This purely populist step did not solve a single problem for pensioners; it did, though, precipitate a sharp surge in inflation.

Of those who ran on CPRF lists in the December elections, Tuleyev undoubtedly is the only charismatic leader.

In the region Tuleyev's rating is enormously high by the standard of our times: somewhere around 60 percent. For comparison: Before he joined the CPRF, the Communist Party's rating in Kuzbass was just above 6 percent. After Tuleyev joined the communist trio, Kuzbass became almost the "reddest" region.

[Signed] Grigoriy Fedotov, doctor of historical sciences

[Begin box] G. Zyuganov, who promised many times that, having come to power, he would liquidate the post of president, so far intends to reinforce it with Vice President A. Tuleyev. Tuleyev knows that two forces compete in the world: the dark and the light. The light is called Aman Tuleyev. The dark has many names: the West, Yeltsin, Kislyuk, Gaydar... It is not so important what precisely it is called at any specific historical moment. [end box]

A Psychologist's View: An Actor

He is the best and most talented actor of all those who have entered the presidential race.

He knows that only one of their own can earn the public's love—real love, not a mix of admiration and apprehension. And so he says: I am just like you. I am from a simple family and I am a simple guy myself—a hardworking railroad guy (as if being part of the railroad top brass and the oblast party committee never happened). The other candidates were

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educated in lyceums, are knowledgeable in all sorts of sciences, but cannot put themselves in the shoes of the voter. They are all from up there, and from that vantage point, illuminated by floodlights, they promise democracy, communism, the Indian Ocean... Only Tuleyev is simultaneously on stage and in the audience.

He knows that when a person comes to a rally or buys "his" newspaper, he does not want to hear propaganda to the contrary. He wants to hear his own thoughts, expressed better and more convincingly, amplified by loudspeakers and distributed in numerous printed copies. And Aman Tuleyev speaks in his voice.

He says that everything is bad and says who is at fault. He says that the enemy will be defeated and we will win. He says "WE." When Our Home says "we" (we will make it before the deluge, we will succeed), it is unconvincing, because "we" are only "we" when there are some who are "them." Our Home still cannot decide who "they" will be. Tuleyev does not have this problem—he names "them" by name.

He plays better and better all the time. In the beginning of his political career he tried to present his program. It looked boring and clearly ran counter to the logic of his character—it was as if Rambo suddenly started pontificating on the subject of geopolitical stability and development path of Indochina. Now Tuleyev says it straight: He does not need the headache of a program—the CPRF already has one, and it is quite good. He agrees with it. And he is right. Why get sidetracked by minor details? The important point is the feeling of unity with the leader, and this is not achieved by smart programs.

He is not only an actor—he is also a director and an artist. For many years now he has been filming an epic called "Aman Tuleyev," with himself in the lead role. Each movement is precise; he plays with inspiration, on the first take, not missing the slightest opportunity to add another brush stroke to the hero's portrait. A terrorist hijacks a bus—Tuleyev not only enters the cabin and prevents bloodshed, he also makes a propaganda show out of the event, turning a mentally unbalanced criminal into the coauthor of another show against the antipopular regime. Because the guy hijacked the bus out of desperation, and desperation is Yeltsin's, the West's, and the democrats' doing.

A bus with terrorists and Tuleyev as Lancelot happened twice, by the way—in 1991 and now, both times on the eve of presidential elections. There are even some rumors that he arranged it himself— the timing just could not have been better. In my opinion, it is wrong to accuse Aman Gumirovich of such underhandedness. He is indeed a courageous and decisive man. In a life such as ours, there is always room for a heroic deed. The question is the hero's readiness. Tuleyev is always ready.

People forget about time in the theater. They have a short memory anyway—they have already forgotten the long lines, let alone the camps and collectivization. And he, knowing that there is no past, only the present, says that in the past only honest labor rather than patronage ensured success; that the state took care of the people, and the people—of the state; and that we have walked out on this paradise not of our own volition but by the evil design of those about whom nobody any longer has any illusions.

By the way, I do not think that he is lying. As any good actor, he likes to act, and, as he delivers the part's lines, he believes in these words and at that moment is completely sincere. He will believe just sincerely in something completely the opposite playing in a different play tomorrow.

He is a strong and intelligent man. Had life taken a slightly different turn, he could unite Zyuganov's and Zhirinovskiy's electorates. He could achieve greater success. At least as great as Hitler's.

[Signed] Leonid Gozman

Russia: Instructions for Candidates' TV Time

964F1883A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Apr 96 pp 5-6

[Instructions on the Procedure of the Allocation to Candidates for the Office of President of the Russian Federation, Electoral Associations, and Voters' Action Committees of Air Time on Channels of State Television and Radio Companies and the Publication of Campaign Material in Periodical Print Publications confirmed by Decree No. 86/716-II of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation of 5 April 1996]

[FBIS Translated Text] **I. General provisions**

1.1. These instructions are published in accordance with the requirements of the federal law "Basic Guarantees of the Electoral Rights of Citizens of the Russian Federation," the federal law "Elections of the President of the Russian Federation," the law of the Russian Federation "The Mass Media," and other federal laws, and regulate the procedure and conditions of the use of the state-run mass media (hereinafter, the media) for electioneering.

1.2. Officials who are on the state or municipal payroll and who have been registered as candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation must not

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in the campaign period take advantage of their official position to restrict the right of other candidates to equal conditions of access to the media or use speeches, news conferences, or interviews on questions of their official activity for direct electioneering in favor of their candidacy or criticism of the campaign programs of their rivals either.

1.3. The state-run media and their officials are required in the campaign period to ensure equal conditions of the access to the media of the candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation and also to refrain from manifestations of any preference for this candidate or the other at the time of his participation in campaign activities.

1.4. Candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation, electoral associations, and voters' action committees shall when campaigning via the media bear the responsibility established by law for the dissemination of information which does not correspond to reality and which demeans the honor, dignity, and professional reputation of the candidates.

1.5. These instructions employ the following terms:

campaigning via the media—the activity of citizens, candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation, electoral associations, voters' action committees, and other participants in the electoral process in the preparation and dissemination via the media in the forms established by law of information aimed at prompting constituents to take part in the ballot for or against this candidate or the other;

types of campaigning—speech, interview, news conference, "hot line," debate, "roundtable," political advertising, and television features and video films (except feature films) on the candidate;

speech—personal appeal (monologue) of the candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation or representative of an electoral association or voters' action committee to constituents presenting the candidate's campaign program, if it takes place outside of the framework of other types of electioneering;

interview—responses of the candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation or representative of an electoral association or voters' action committee to questions put to him by journalists of state-run media in the course of a personal meeting;

news conference—the presentation by the candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation or representative of an electoral association or voters' action committee of the candidate's campaign program to representatives of the media, including answers to journalists' questions;

"hot line"—the answers of candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation or representatives of electoral associations and voters' action committees to questions of a television audience or radio audience put directly on the air;

debate—the public exchange of the opinions of two and more candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation or representatives of electoral associations or voters' action committees on a wide range of socially significant problems, a resolution of which is proposed in the candidates' campaign programs;

"roundtable"—an exchange of opinions, questions, and answers among candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation and representatives of electoral associations and voters' action committees and representatives of the media, a television audience, a radio audience, and readers within the framework of actual campaign activities;

political commercials—the dissemination by participants in the electoral process via the media of information on the candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation using means and methods distinguishing the advertising material from other types and genres of information (predominance of emotional over semantic impact, garishness, laconicism, repetition) for the purpose of the molding of public opinion both for and against this candidate or the other;

news program—a television or radio program periodically broadcast by television and radio companies and containing information on current events and news;

state-run television and radio company—a television and radio company of any organizational or legal form whose founder (cofounder) is an institution of state power;

all-Russia state television and radio company (hereinafter, all-Russia GTRK)—a state-run television and radio company, the area of the assured reception of whose broadcasts is within the reach of half or more components of the Russian Federation;

regional state television and radio company (hereinafter, regional GTRK)—a state-run television and radio company, the area of the assured reception of whose broadcasts is within the reach of less than half the components of the Russian Federation, but not less than the reach of the administrative borders of one component of the Russian Federation;

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municipal television and radio company (hereinafter, municipal TRK)—a television and radio company, a founder (cofounder) of which is a local government institution, and the area of assured reception of the programs is within the reach of one or several administrative and territorial units of a component of the Russian Federation;

periodical print publication with state participation—a print publication, a founder (cofounder) of which is an institution of state power or state-run enterprise, establishment, or organization or a publication which is financed fully or in part (not less than 25 percent) from funds of the federal budget or the budget of a component of the Russian Federation;

municipal periodical print publication—a print publication, a founder (cofounder) of which is a local government institution or municipal enterprise, establishment, or organization or a publication which is financed fully or in part (not less than 25 percent) from local budget funds.

1.6. The list of all-Russia and regional GTRK and periodical print publications with state participation shall be published by the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation per the presentation of the Federal Service of Russia for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the Committee of the Russian Federation for the Press, and of the municipal TRK and municipal periodical print publications, by the election commissions of the components of the Russian Federation per the presentation of the corresponding administrations of components of the Russian Federation, in the media no later than 16 April 1996.

II. Procedure of allocation of air time on channels of state television and radio companies

2.1. Candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation registered with the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation in the established procedure and also the electoral associations and voters' action committees that nominated the registered candidates shall be entitled for electioneering to make use of all-Russia and regional GTRK and municipal TRK.

2.2. The procedure of the allocation to candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation, electoral associations, or voters' action committees of air time on channels of municipal TRK shall be established and its observance monitored by the election commissions of the components of the Russian Federation in accordance with federal legislation governing elections and with regard to the basic provisions of these instructions.

2.3. Candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation shall be entitled to the allocation to them of free and paid air time on channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK on an equal basis (amount of allocated air time, time that the program is aired, amount and procedure of payment for the air time, other conditions). Free air time shall be allocated the candidates here by television and radio companies which are financed from the corresponding budget (federal budget, budget of component of the Russian Federation).

2.4. Electoral associations and voters' action committees shall be entitled to obtain paid air time on channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK.

If a candidate has been nominated by several electoral associations or voters' action committees, the right to obtain paid air time shall be enjoyed by the electoral association or voters' action committee on the basis of whose documents the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation registered the candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation.

2.5. The state television and radio companies must publicly announce (declare) the amount of the payment for the allocated air time no later than 20 April 1996.

In the election period television and radio companies shall be entitled to establish a different amount of payment for air time in the event of a change in the corresponding state-controlled prices and rates.

2.6. Candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation shall be allocated free air time on channels of all- Russia and regional GTRK in the period from 14 March through 14 June 1996 with regard to the zone time of broadcasting to different regions of the Russian Federation (Footnote: 10-day and five-day timeframes from the day of confirmation of the schedules of the allocation of free air time until the day that the candidates go out on the air shall be established on the basis of the need for the realization by the all-Russia and regional GTRK respectively of organizational and technical measures).

In the event of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation scheduling after the tallying of the results of the ballot on 16 June 1996 a runoff vote in the elections for president of the Russian Federation, the two candidates who have obtained the largest number of constituents' votes shall be allocated free air time on the channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK in the final week before the day of the runoff ballot.

2.7. The sum total of free air time allocated candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation by all-Russia GTRK daily on weekdays should amount to 10 minutes of air time between 0700 and 1000 and 10 minutes between 1800 and 2300 with regard to local time.

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In the event of a runoff, free air time shall be allocated the two remaining candidates daily on weekdays in accordance with the requirements of part two of clause 2.6 and parts one and two of this clause. The candidates shall be entitled to determine the actual dates and time that they go out on the air by mutual consent formalized in writing and presented directly to the television and radio company within two days from the time of publication of the decision of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation on the scheduling of a runoff. A failure to achieve mutual consent shall not deprive the candidates of the right to obtain free air time in the procedure established by these instructions.

2.8. The grounds for a candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation being allocated free air time on channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK shall be an application in writing of the candidate or his agent or authorized representatives of an electoral association or voters' action committee who have received from the candidate instructions in writing addressed to the leader of the corresponding television and radio company and presented to the television and radio company directly no later than 1800 on 29 April 1996.

In the event, as a result of consideration of a petition from a candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation, of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation adopting a decision on registration of the candidate after 29 April 1996, all-Russia and regional GTRK shall be required to allocate this candidate free air time. To this end the corresponding television and radio companies shall make provision on the schedule of the allocation of air time for reserve time for no fewer than two candidates.

2.9. Free air time for candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation on channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK shall be allocated in accordance with schedules confirmed by the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation and the election commissions of components of the Russian Federation.

Schedules of the allocation of air time indicating the type of campaigning and the actual date and time that each candidate goes out on the air shall be drawn up by the leadership of the all-Russia and regional GTRK based on the results of lots drawn by the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation and the election commissions of the components of the Russian Federation among the candidates or, on their behalf, authorized representatives of electoral associations and voters' action committees in the presence of members of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation, members of the Judicial Chamber for Information Disputes in the Office of the President of the Russian Federation, members of the election commissions of components of the Russian Federation, and representatives of all-Russia and regional GTRK. The said schedules shall be confirmed by the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation no later than 4 May 1996, and by the election commissions of components of the Russian Federation, no later than 9 May 1996. If there is a runoff, the schedules shall be confirmed by the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation no later than 10 days, and by the election commissions of components of the Russian Federation, no later than nine days, prior to the day of the runoff. Following confirmation of the schedule, the television and radio companies shall not accept or consider candidates' applications for the allocation to them of free air time.

2.10. The schedules of the allocation to candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation of free air time are to be made public by the state-run media free of charge in accordance with Article 35 of the law of the Russian Federation "The Mass Media" no later than the second day following confirmation of the schedule by the corresponding election commission.

2.11. A refusal by the management of state-run television and radio companies to allocate a candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation free air time and a violation of the principle established by law of equal conditions of the use of the media for electioneering may be appealed by the party concerned to the pertinent election commission or the Judicial Chamber for Information Disputes in the Office of the President of the Russian Federation or to a court of law.

The said authorities shall be entitled to require the management of these television and radio companies to allocate the candidate the free air time guaranteed by law.

2.12. A candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation shall in accordance with the type of campaigning agreed with the television and radio company independently determine within the limits of the allocated free air time the nature and content of the information.

2.13. All-Russia and regional GTRK shall be compensated for expenditure on the allocation to candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation of free air time from the federal budget from their current funding.

2.14. Candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation shall be allocated paid air time on

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the basis of contracts concluded with all-Russia and regional GTRK. The total paid air time allocated each candidate on channels of all-Russia GTRK here may not exceed the total of allocated free air time. The ratio of the amount of free and paid air time for the regional GTRK shall be determined by their technical and program possibilities. Payment for air time allocated candidates on channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK shall be made from the resources of the candidates' campaign funds.

2.15. Candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation shall be allocated air time for payment on channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK in the period specified in part one of clause 2.6 of these instructions.

In the event of a runoff, paid air time shall be allocated the candidates within the timeframe specified in part two of clause 2.6 of these instructions.

2.16. The grounds for the allocation of a candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation paid air time on channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK shall be an application in writing of the candidate or his agent or authorized representatives of an electoral association or voters' action committee who have received from the candidate instructions in writing addressed to the leader of the corresponding television and radio company and presented to the television and radio company directly no later than 1800 on 29 April 1996.

Air time for payment shall be allocated candidates on channels of state-run television and radio companies according to schedules drawn up by the management of the corresponding all-Russia and regional GTRK no later than 10 May 1996, and if there is a runoff, no later than eight days prior to the day of the runoff.

The schedule of the allocation of air time indicating the actual date and time of release on the air shall be drawn up on the basis of the applications that have been received and according to the results of lots drawn by the management of the television and radio company. The schedule shall be published in the media no later than the second day after it has been drawn up.

2.17. The contracts between the candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation and the television and radio companies on the allocation of air time for payment must indicate the following conditions: type of campaigning, time of release on the air, amount of allocated air time, and the amount and procedure of payment for it and also other conditions. The air time must be paid for before it is allocated. If the funds have not been paid into the television and radio company's account, the allocation of air time is not permitted.

In the event of a candidate violating the terms of the contract that has been concluded, the corresponding television and radio company shall be entitled in the established procedure to cancel the contract with him and to sell the air time that has been freed up or use it at its discretion, observing the principle of equal conditions of the candidates' access to the state-owned media.

2.18. The electoral associations and voters' action committees that nominated registered candidates shall be allocated paid air time on channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK in the period from the moment of registration of the candidate through 14 June 1996 on the basis of contracts concluded between them with observance by all the participants in the electoral process of the basic principles established by federal legislation. The air time shall be paid for from the resources of the campaign funds of the candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation.

The contracts between electoral associations and voters' action committees on the one hand and television and radio companies on the other must indicate the terms established in part one of clause 2.17 of these instructions.

2.19. An electoral association or voters' action committee wishing to obtain for payment air time on channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK must present to the corresponding television and radio company no later than 29 April 1996 the application in writing of the authorized representative and his registration certificate.

2.20. The television and radio companies are required to keep a record of the free and paid air time allocated candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation, electoral associations, and voters' action committees for electioneering, and in accordance with requests in writing from the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation and election commissions of components of the Russian Federation, notify them of the allocation of air time and also send them copies of the corresponding contracts.

2.21. Television and radio companies shall not be entitled to interrupt television and radio programs containing campaign material with commodity, job, and service commercials. Interrupting television and radio programs containing campaign material that is presented free of charge with paid campaign material and also interrupting television and radio programs with the participation of some candidates, electoral associations, and voters' action committees with television and radio programs with the participation of other participants in electioneering is prohibited.

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2.22. Television and radio programs containing campaign material of candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation, electoral associations, and voters' action committees must not when being broadcast via channels of one all-Russia GTRK coincide in time on the air with similar television and radio programs of another all-Russia GTRK.

Television programs containing campaign material of candidates, electoral associations, and voters' action committees must not when being broadcast via channels of regional GTRK coincide in time on the air with similar television programs broadcast via channels of all-Russia GTRK.

Regional GTRK shall not be entitled to block with their transmissions television programs containing campaign material of candidates, electoral associations, or voters' action committees broadcast on channels of all-Russia GTRK.

2.23. In order that constituents may obtain full and dispassionate information on the campaign programs of the candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation all-Russia GTRK shall be entitled to organize in the period from 14 May through 14 June 1996 and within the limits of the total free air time campaign activities with the candidates who express a desire to take part in them in the form of debates, "roundtables," or "hot lines."

In the event of a runoff, all-Russia GTRK shall be entitled to organize campaign activities with the two remaining candidates in the form of debates or "hot lines."

2.24. The television and radio company shall appoint moderators of television and radio campaign broadcasts and shall notify their participants of this at the time of publication of the schedule of the allocation of air time or when the corresponding contract is concluded.

The moderator shall coordinate with the participants in the broadcast the procedure in which it is conducted and shall see to it that the agreed procedure is observed and shall invite the candidate and representatives of the electoral association and voters' action committee to answer his questions and also questions put by other participants in the television and radio campaign broadcasts or by the television viewers or radio audience.

The moderator shall not during the television and radio campaign broadcasts be entitled:

to breach the procedure of the broadcast agreed with its participants;

limit the speaking time of the candidate or representative of an electoral association or voters' action committee, unless otherwise specified by the procedure of conduct of the broadcast agreed with its participants or unless this has been brought about by the conclusion of the air time intended for this broadcast;

show preference for any participant in television and radio campaign broadcasts.

In the event of a candidate or representative of an electoral association or voters' action committee violating the requirements of legislation on the impermissibility of abuse of the right to engage in campaigning, the moderator shall be entitled to point out to the participant in the broadcast the unlawful nature of his actions and to remind him of the liability specified by the law.

2.25. A participant in television and radio campaign broadcasts shall be required:

to comply with the procedure of the broadcast that has been worked out;

conduct the discussion within the framework of ethical and moral standards and to avoid insulting and knowingly false remarks about other participants in the broadcast which are demeaning to their honor and dignity;

to submit to the justified demands of the moderator.

2.26. Political commercials disseminated by a candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation, an electoral association, or a voters' action committee on channels of all-Russia and regional GTRK must be identifiable, that is, contain a clear indication of the candidate in whose interests they are being disseminated.

The air time allocated a candidate for the dissemination of political commercials must not exceed 10 percent of the total free and paid air time allocated him, and for an electoral association or voters' action committee, 10 percent of total paid air time.

2.27. News programs of television and radio reflecting events connected with the election campaign shall not be entitled to show preference for any candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation whatever. The inclusion of political commercials in advertising segments within news programs and also in other advertising segments is prohibited.

2.28. In the event of a television and radio company proposing to show a recorded speech, interview, news conference, "hot line," debate, or "roundtable," the transcript of the program shall be made in live-broadcast mode within the established amount of broadcasting time.

2.29. All television and radio programs containing campaign material shall be aired with a parallel video

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and audio transcript, which shall be kept at the television and radio company for six months from the day that the said programs were aired and at the request of the corresponding election commission shall be made available to it no later than three days from the day of the application.

III. Procedure of publication of campaign material in periodical print publications with state participation and in municipal periodical print publications

3.1. Candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation registered with the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation and also the electoral associations and voters' action committees which nominated the registered candidates shall be entitled for the publication of campaign material to use on a paid basis periodical print publications with state participation and municipal periodical print publications.

In the event of candidates, electoral associations, and voters' action committees using periodical print publications that they have founded, the publications of campaign material in the said print publications must be financed via the campaign funds of the candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation.

3.2. Having allocated a candidate, electoral association, or voters' action committee for payment space on a page, periodical print publications shall not be entitled to deny another participant in the electioneering space on a page on the same terms.

This provision shall not extend to periodical print publications founded by candidates, electoral associations, or voters' action committees.

3.3. Candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation, electoral associations, and voters' action committees shall be granted time for the publication of campaign material in periodical print publications in the period from 29 April through 14 June 1996.

The volume of publications of campaign material may not exceed 10 percent of the total volume of a one-time edition of a print publication.

3.4. The grounds for the publication of campaign material of a candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation, an electoral association, or a voters' action committee shall be the registration certificate of the authorized representative of the electoral association or voters' action committee and also the application in writing of the candidate or the person who has received from the candidate instructions in writing or of the authorized representative of an electoral association or voters' action committee addressed to the leader of the editorial office of the corresponding print publication and presented to the print publications directly no later than 29 April 1996.

3.5. Newspaper (journal) space shall be allocated candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation, electoral associations, and voters' action committees for payment by the corresponding editorial offices of periodical print publications based on contracts which have been concluded between them. The contracts must specify the following terms: type and term of the publications and their volume, the amount and procedure of payment for the allocated print areas, and other terms. Payment for the print area allocated candidates, electoral associations, and voters' action committees shall be made by the candidates from the resources of their campaign funds. Payment must be made before space on the page is allocated. Should the funds not be paid into the account of the print publication, the allocation of newspaper (journal) space is prohibited.

3.6. The editorial offices of periodical print publications shall be required to keep a record of the publication of the campaign material of candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation, electoral associations, and voters' action committees, and in accordance with requests in writing from the corresponding election commissions, to notify them of the allocation of newspaper (journal) space and also to send them copies of the corresponding contracts.

3.7. Political advertising disseminated by a candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation, an electoral association, or a voters' action committee in periodical print publications must contain a precise indication of the candidate in whose interests it is being disseminated.

Newspaper (journal) space allocated a candidate, electoral association, or voters' action committee for the dissemination of political advertising must not exceed 10 percent of the total print area allocated them.

3.8. A candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation, electoral association, or voters' action committee shall independently determine the form of electioneering and the content of the campaign material, complying here with the requirements of legislation governing elections and the media. A revision of the text of the furnished material by the editorial offices of print publications without coordination with the authors is not permitted.

3.9. Periodical print publications founded by institutions of representative, executive, and judicial power exclusively for the publication of their official announcements and material, laws, and other acts shall not be entitled to publish campaign material of candidates for the office

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of president of the Russian Federation, electoral associations, or voters' action committees.

IV. Organization of monitoring, resolution of disputes, and liability

4.1. Observance of the procedure of electioneering established by federal legislation and these instructions shall be monitored by the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation and the election commissions of components of the Russian Federation.

The said election commissions shall be entitled to form groups for monitoring the observance by participants in the electoral process of the procedure and rules of electioneering in the media. The group shall be formed from the ranks of members of the corresponding election commissions, including members of a commission with a consultative role, and also specialists in the field of law and journalism. The monitoring group shall consider petitions and complaints of participants in the electoral process, conduct planned inspections of the state of electioneering, and prepare material for sessions of the corresponding election commission.

4.2. In the event of a breach of the established procedure of electioneering by participants in the electoral process, the election commissions shall be entitled to demand of the competent authorities an end to the unlawful activity. The Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation shall be entitled to apply to the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation with representations concerning voidance of the decisions on the registration of candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation.

4.3. The Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation and the election commissions of components of the Russian Federation shall be entitled to receive reports of leaders of state-run media on compliance with the requirements of federal legislation and these instructions and to adopt within their jurisdiction binding decisions.

The leaders of state-run media shall be required to furnish the corresponding election commission or monitoring group at their request within three days details of the use by the candidates, electoral associations, and voters' action committees of air time and of the volume of publications of campaign material.

4.4. In the event of a violation by representatives of state-run media of the provisions of these instructions, the leaders of the media may in accordance with a substantiated representation of the corresponding election commission remove for the period of the elections from work connected with coverage of the election campaign journalists, creative employees, and officials of the editorial office.

4.5. Candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation, electoral associations, voters' action committees, and other participants in the electoral process may appeal actions violating the procedure of electioneering via the media established by legislation and these instructions to the corresponding election commission and the Judicial Chamber for Information Disputes in the Office of the President of the Russian Federation and also to a court of law.

4.6. In accordance with federal legislation, the Judicial Chamber for Information Disputes in the Office of the President of the Russian Federation shall consider and settle information disputes which are of a socially significant nature and which ensue from violations of the procedure and rules of electioneering via the media established by legislation and these instructions and ensure observance of the principle of political pluralism and equal conditions of access to the media of candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation.

The Judicial Chamber shall consider in priority fashion disputes in respect to appeals of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation, candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation, all-Russia GTRK, and periodical print publications with state participation.

The Judicial Chamber shall be entitled on the results of consideration of an information dispute connected with electioneering to invite the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation to submit for consideration by the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation the question of voidance of the decision on registration of a candidate for the office of president of the Russian Federation.

4.7. Prevention of the unrestricted exercise by candidates, electoral associations, and voters' action committees of the right to engage in electioneering and also abuse of the right to campaign expressed, included, in the dissemination of reports and material not corresponding to reality and demeaning the honor, dignity, and professional reputation of candidates for the office of president of the Russian Federation and their agents and the authorized representatives of electoral associations and voters' action committees shall entail the disciplinary, administrative, or criminal liability specified by federal legislation.

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CIS: ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 23 Apr

LD2304055296 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0456 GMT 23 Apr 96

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 23 (Itar-Tass) — Russian newspapers comment on the results of the Moscow summit on nuclear security attended by leaders of eight countries.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA says that the "eight" has assumed a common responsibility for nuclear security in the world. "Practically full consent reached on the majority of problem on the agenda - this is the main result of the two-day summit on nuclear security in Moscow attended by leaders of the United States, Canada, Japan, Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia," the newspaper said in a commentary by its political observer Aleksandr Goltz. Journalist Vladimir Kuzar believes that the talks between leaders of Russia and the United states which were held in the Kremlin on Sunday were the continuation of the meeting of the "eight", which fostered the results of the summit.

The pro-government newspaper ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA says that the main result of the meeting of the world leaders was that if in the years of the "cold war" the nuclear energy was a factor of a split, intimidation and confrontation, today, a real opportunity presented itself to make atom a factor of partnership, interaction and peace."

"However, Boris Yeltsin is not satisfied with the progress of the process of the transformation of 'G-7' into 'G-8.' Western partners invariably stressed that it was only the political "eight" which might be at issue. Russia is not going to be admitted yet for discussions of economic issues at the "Club of the Seven" on the grounds of its insufficient solvency.

PRAVDA says that the "G-7" has not turned into "G-8" in Moscow. Perhaps, the main event of the Moscow summit was that Russia had shown a certain extent of its involvement in the club of elite world powers, while the West was offered another possibility to clarify the positions of the sides on nuclear aspects of planned NATO expansion, the newspaper said.

ROSSIYSKIE VESTI says that the Moscow summit laid the basis for the formation of the G-8 which might be officially declared at the next summit of the leading world countries scheduled in Lyon in June. TRUD says that the "G-7" cannot do without Russia which was confirmed by the Moscow summit.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA draws attention to the fact that "Russia's chief proposal in the area of ensuring nuclear security that nuclear weapons of all nuclear powers should be concentrated within the boundaries of their own territories was not taken into account and turned down by the G-7."

IZVESTIYA analyses documents adopted at the summit and arrives at the conclusion that "all were pleased with the Moscow summit and agreed to resolve differences in working order." The newspaper comments on rumors about the forthcoming resignation of Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev who, when speaking in the State Duma, expressed his disagreement with the presidential plan of the Chechen settlement and put the responsibility for the developments in the rebel republic on the president. The newspaper's military observer Viktor Litovkin counted how many times rumors about Grachev's resignation had appeared since he was appointed Defence minister, putting down their number at 30. "Grachev had several times declared that he was prepared to tender his resignation both at a meeting with journalists and in the State Duma, and his resignation is, apparently, pre-determined." The newspaper even gave the names of four contenders to the post of the Defence minister.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA says that rumors about Grachev's resignation turned out to be a "smoke screen" again since Grachev is going to China with Supreme Commander-in-Chief Boris Yeltsin.

TRUD carries a commentary by deputy chairman of the scientific and technical Committee of Russian land troops Colonel Vyacheslav Khachevskiy who expressed his opinion why the federal forces were suffering big losses in Chechnya. He believes that "fighting in Chechnya has exposed vulnerable spots in the equipment of our troops for which they have to pay with their blood." "This clearly shows that our army badly needs modern weapons and military hardware to operate in local conflicts under conditions of a cross-country territory," Khachevskiy said.

CIS: Relations Between Four CIS States Brought to 'Higher Level'

LD1904125096 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1220 GMT 19 Apr 96

[By Nataliya Panshina and Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 19 (Itar-Tass) — "The point at issue is the bringing of relations between the signatories to the treaty to an entirely new, higher level," Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov said, presenting at the State Duma the Treaty on the Creation of a Community by Russia and Belarus and the Treaty between Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan

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and Kyrgyzstan on the Deepening of Integration in the Economic and Humanitarian Spheres. The documents were ratified by the Duma today and submitted for the consideration of the Federation Council. 372 Duma members voted for the Russian-Belarusian treaty, and 365 — for the quadripartite treaty.

A trend towards the deepening of integration processes on the territory of the former USSR "did not emerge at once," Pastukhov continued. However, economic difficulties brought home to the former USSR republics that none of them would overcome the crisis on its own. The experience of Russia and Belarus, as well as of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, will pave the way to those who will express the intention to join the Community or the quadripartite treaty, because those documents are open to other states.

The steady improvement of working conditions, the protection of individual rights and freedoms and the promotion of social progress are the main objectives of the integration, Pastukhov stressed.

The treaty on deepening integration in the economic and humanitarian spheres, signed on March 29, 1996, in Moscow by the heads of the four states, creates a legal basis for further deepening of economic integration of those countries with a prospect of their unification into the Community of Integrated States. The economic section of the document outlines measures for coordinating the stages and time limits for the implementation of the economic reforms and for creating conditions for the functioning of a common market. The treaty institutes a number of joint governing bodies: the Interstate Council, which is the supreme authority, the Integration Committee (a permanent executive authority) and the Interparliamentary Committee.

The treaty on the creation of the Community, signed on April 2, 1996, in Moscow by the Russian and Belarusian leaders, creates a legal basis for the formation of a closer political and economic alliance of the two countries, based on the principles of sovereignty and equality.

Aside from the economic and humanitarian measures, it envisages the coordination of problems dealing with foreign policy, defence and anti-crime struggle. It is planned to create corresponding authorities in the Community and distribute functions among them. The Supreme Council, made up of the heads of state and government, as well as heads of parliaments, will be the top authority. The Parliamentary Assembly and permanent executive authorities (the executive committee and management bodies for individual economic sectors) will also be created.

CIS: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, EU Sign Political Declaration

LD2204150996 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Georgian 1359 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tbilisi — Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze left for the Benelux countries yesterday to participate in the ceremony of signing an agreement on partnership and cooperation with the European Union. [passage omitted]

Today, German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel invited the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani presidents to an official breakfast at the Continental Hotel.

Later today, Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze had a meeting with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. Eduard Shevardnadze also had a meeting with Grand Duke Jean [of Luxembourg].

A joint political declaration on partnership and cooperation between the European Union and Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan was signed today. The ceremony of signing the agreement was attended by the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani presidents, leaders of the European Commission, members of the EU Council of Ministers, and the foreign ministers of the three countries of the Transcaucasus.

Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze made a speech at a news conference held jointly by the presidents of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

Late in the afternoon, the presidents of the Transcaucasus republics left for Brussels. [passage omitted]

Baltics: Russia, Lithuania, Estonia Set Up Border Council

LD2004150896 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1430 GMT 20 Apr 96

[BY ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Vlasov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] PSKOV, April 20 (Itar-Tass) — Russian, Lithuanian and Estonian delegations on Saturday decided to set up a border cooperation council.

The task of the new body is to pool efforts to achieve economic and social progress in areas close to the border, strengthen their social and economic infrastructure, establish close cooperation in environmental issues and provide emergency aid.

Members of the delegations met Secretary General of the Council of Europe Daniel Tarschys who is in Pskov on an unofficial visit.

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Russia: Foreign Minister Primakov Arrives in Damascus

LD2004095096 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0923 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Beirut, 20 April — Yevgeniy Primakov, Russian Foreign Minister, arrived in Damascus today to take part in the process of negotiations aimed at working out an effective mechanism for settling the bloody conflict between Israel and the Lebanese extremist organization Hezbollah. It is expected that the Russian minister will have a meeting today with U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher and will take part in a multilateral meeting with the foreign ministers of France, Italy, Syria and Iran and the head of the US State Department. Afterwards the ministers will be received by Hafiz al-Asad, President of Syria. [passage omitted]

Russia: Primakov Meets French, Iranian Ministers in Damascus

LD2004144696 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1433 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BEIRUT, April 20 (Itar-Tass) - Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov, right after his arrival in Damascus, met French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette who is in the region for several days now.

The sides had a useful exchange of opinions at a meeting in the Russian embassy.

As a result, they reached an understanding to concert efforts on an immediate ceasefire and settlement of the present crisis in the Mid-East, which developed into a growing conflict between Israel and the Islamic Hizballah movement and tolled hundreds of human lives.

"Saturday and coming Sunday will be decisive" for an agreement on ceasefire in Lebanon, Charette told reporters in Damascus after the talks with the Russian foreign minister.

In turn, Primakov pointed to the importance of his French colleague's mission, who made shuttle visits in Middle Eastern countries since the start of the week. "Our main task is to achieve a ceasefire agreement as soon as possible and try to create conditions for the continuation of the peace process," Primakov stressed.

According to French Foreign Ministry deputy spokesman, the French and Russian ministers, at their talks, "stated full mutual understanding on the ceasefire question and agreed to work jointly on measures to ensure security of Lebanese and Israeli population on the basis of a plan suggested by France." Itar-Tass reports from Paris that this plan is based on setting up "a security committee whose members will include the United States, France, Russia and other European countries."

The deputy spokesman specified that the committee's task will be to control the observance by the sides of "an obligation not to mount armed attacks on civilians."

Primakov also had a meeting with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati who is now in Damascus.

A meeting of the foreign ministers of Russia, France, the U.S. and Italy (which is now the chairman of the European Union) will be held at the French embassy this evening. The ministers will iron out acceptable conditions for settling the conflict between Israel and the Islamic Hizballah movement.

Primakov is to meet Syrian President Hafez al-Assad also on Saturday.

Russia: Primakov, Syrian President Discuss Lebanon Situation

LD2004221496 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2145 GMT 20 Apr 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Golovastov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Beirut, 21 Apr — Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad received Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov on Saturday. The Russian foreign minister arrived in the Syrian capital on the personal instruction from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to take part in international efforts to put a halt to the armed conflict in the south of Lebanon.

The sharp exacerbation of the situation along the Lebanese - Israeli sector and international community's efforts to end the armed clashes were the main topic of the conversation, in which Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar'a also took part.

The sides noted that the military operations, which are claiming civilian lives, should be halted forthwith. The bilateral relations of cooperation between Russia and Syria and ways of developing them further were also discussed.

Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov has also had meetings in the Russian embassy in Damascus with French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette and Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. The situation in the south of Lebanon, which has become extremely exacerbated and ways of arriving at a settlement of the situation were in the center of attention during their talks.

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"Russia supports initiatives leading to peace," Yevgeniy Primakov told journalists after his meeting with the French minister. He noted that a settlement should not be achieved at the expense of the interests of either side.

Russia: Primakov in Meeting With Syria's Al-Asad

LD2304052596 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0045 GMT 23 Apr 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Golovastov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Beirut, 23 Apr — On Monday Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad received Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov, who had arrived in Damascus from Israel. The head of the Russian Foreign Ministry informed the Syrian president about the results of his talks with the Israeli leadership, the main aim of which was to achieve the swiftest possible end to the armed conflict in Lebanon.

This is the second meeting that the head of Russian diplomacy has had with President Hafiz al-Asad in the last three days. The first meeting between Yevgeniy Primakov and Hafiz al-Asad took place last Saturday after Russia's foreign minister arrived in the Near East. Syria was the first stage in the Near East tour that Yevgeniy Primakov was making on the personal instructions of Russian President Boris Yeltsin within the framework of the international efforts to find a way out of the extremely serious crisis in Lebanon. Then Russia's high-ranking representative visited Lebanon and Israel, where he held talks with the leaders of those countries.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher has also arrived in the Syrian capital and held lengthy talks with Hafiz al-Asad, as well as French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette, Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri and the chairman of the Lebanese parliament, Nabih Birri.

Lebanese President Ilyas al-Hirawi has flown to New York to take part in an emergency session of the UN General Assembly on the crisis in Lebanon.

Russia: Primakov Visit to Syria Viewed; Christopher Said Piqued

MM2304082596 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 96 pp 1, 7

[Report by Dmitriy Kulik: "Minister Primakov's Eastern Aria. Yet Another Major Player Arrives in Explosive Region"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Damascus — "The fate of Lebanon is being decided in Damascus today," Lebanese Premier Rafiq al-Hariri stated when the foreign ministers of the countries mediating in the Near East negotiations arrived simultaneously in the Syrian capital. The statement might seem too emotional, but was by no means an exaggeration.

In Damascus the French foreign minister defended his plan for ending the Lebanese tragedy. In particular, it provides for the simultaneous cessation of the Israeli operation against Lebanon and of the shelling of Israel's northern region with Katyushas by the Hizballah organization. Tel Aviv, Beirut, and Damascus should give written guarantees that they will not use military force against one another.

Paris is also proposing that "third countries," that is to say, the sponsors of the Near East [peace] process, should provide guarantees of the security of the sides. The plan also proposes the introduction of peacekeeping forces in the conflict region. Israel should begin negotiations with Lebanon and Syria on ending its occupation of territory in South Lebanon.

Washington, after duly publicizing it in the world mass media, proposed its own plan. The sequence of actions in it is as follows: Hizballah should cease fire immediately, and in response Israel will suspend its military operation. After this, Tel Aviv will possibly begin negotiations on the liberation of southern Lebanon from its control.

The French initiative was supported by Russia, Lebanon, Syria, other Arab countries, and the EU. Only Israel found itself in the American "camp." The plan proposed by Washington offers the sides no guarantees and does not resolve the conflict itself.

In this deadlocked situation everyone impatiently awaited the arrival of the Russian foreign minister. Russia finds itself in a unique position since, on the one hand, it maintains good, close relations with Syria, Lebanon, and Iran, and, on the other, it has businesslike contacts with the United States and Israel. A force was needed to amalgamate the efforts of all sides and find the most acceptable solution to the existing situation.

It is undeniable that from the first minutes of his arrival on Syrian soil Yevgeniy Primakov managed to "win over" his foreign colleagues with his profound knowledge of the situation in the Near East and his extrordinary energy. For a while our embassy in Syria became the epicenter of the talks; it was to our embassy that the French foreign minister came on his arrival. On the whole, it turned out that the Russian side supports the Paris plan as a working basis, considering it the most realistic.

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Talks were then held in the embassy with the leader of the Iranian foreign policy department, who set out the viewpoint of Hizballah representatives.

Here is what I was told by Minister Primakov.

[Kulik] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, what is Russia's position in the current situation?

[Primakov] It is perfectly clear: We are opposed to Israel inflicting strikes on sovereign Lebanon. Russia condemns all terrorist actions against the civilian population. We came here to exchange opinions with the Syrian leadership. We are linked to Syria by long-standing relations, and we support the independence and security of this country... [Primakov ends]

The U.S. secretary of state was also in Damascus for a meeting with his counterparts from France and Italy, and also with the Syrian president. It is interesting that the U.S. secretary of state, "owing to the tight schedule of his visit and lack of time," was unable to meet with Primakov, although they were not far away from one another. According to information from U.S. sources, Christopher responded very sharply to the fact that other countries, especially Russia, have "dared" to step up their policy in the Near East.

Russia: Foreign Minister Primakov Arrives in Beirut

LD2104100396 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0843 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Beirut, 21 April — Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov, who is touring Middle East countries, arrived in Beirut today. Here he will have talks with Lebanese officials to find ways to stop hostilities near the Lebanese-Israeli border, which have been going on for 11 days.

Earlier the Russian foreign minister has had talks with the Syrian leadership.

The French and Italian foreign ministers are also expected to arrive in the Lebanese capital.

Tel-Aviv, 21 April: A spokesman for the Jerusalem city authorities said Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov would arrived here in the afternoon. He is expected to meet with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres to discuss possible conditions of a ceasefire in the Lebanese-Israeli border area.

State Secretary Warren Christopher arrived in Israel from Syria a few hours ago. In the next few hours he is expected to hold a news conference concerning his meeting with the head of the Israeli cabinet, after which he will go back to Damask. [passage omitted]

Russia: Primakov: Israeli Strikes 'Unacceptable', 'Inappropriate'

LD2104105496 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1020 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Beirut, 21 April — Since this conflict began, we have been describing it as an unacceptable and totally inappropriate action carried out by Israel against independent Lebanon, Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov told journalists on his arrival in the Lebanese capital today. He condemned the Israeli strikes against civilian targets and called for an immediate end to the shelling.

Shortly after his arrival in Beirut, Primakov had talks with Lebanese Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz. At the moment Primakov is holding talks with Lebanese President Ilyas al-Hirawi. French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette and Italian Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli also arrived in Beirut from Damask today. [passage omitted]

Russia: Primakov Meets Israel's Baraq To Offer Help on Truce

LD2204062196 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0515 GMT 22 Apr 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Kerzhentsev]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tel Aviv, 22 Apr — Russia's Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov, who is in Israel, has had talks on a settlement in Lebanon with his Israeli counterpart, Ehud Baraq. At the end of the meeting, which took place on Sunday evening, Baraq stated that the sides "exchanged views on the crisis in Lebanon and what approach one should take to it." "We attribute great importance to the development of our relations with Russia," he added.

Primakov pointed out that "Russia would like to assist in finding a way out of the crisis."

He arrived here from Beirut on a mission to mediate in finding a settlement to the crisis in south Lebanon, following a visit to Syria before that. The head of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also expected to meet Prime Minister Shim'on Peres.

On the eve of Primakov's arrival here, Peres stated that his country is interested in mediation solely on the part of the United States, since only Washington is capable of attaining conditions for a cease-fire in Lebanon which are acceptable to the Israelis.

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Russia: Primakov Discusses Lebanese Problem With Israel's Premier

LD2204082796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0804 GMT 22 Apr 96

[By Anatoliy Kerzhentsev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tel Aviv, April 22 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov has expressed Russia's concern over the situation in Lebanon and the death of civilians there, when meeting Israeli Prime Minister Shim'on Peres in Jerusalem on Sunday night.

Primakov offered mediation assistance on behalf of Moscow in achieving ceasefire in Lebanon and reiterated Russia's intention to take an active part in the settlement of the Lebanese-Israeli relations. Primakov stressed that it is for that purpose that he had come to the region and that his mission was aimed not at hampering U.S. mediation efforts, but at supporting efforts for settling the crisis.

In his turn, Shim'on Peres reiterated the intention of the Israeli Government to lean towards U.S. mediation in the settlement of the conflict in Lebanon. "I prefer efforts in this direction to be concentrated in single hands," he said. The Israeli prime minister again blamed the Hizballah organisation for the developments in Lebanon and the killing of the civilian population. He accused Iran of the intention to disrupt the peace process in the region and of helping the "terrorist organisations" of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hizballah. In his opinion, one should not trust so much as one word of Tehran about Iran's readiness to promote the normalisation of the situation in Lebanon." [no opening quotation mark as received]

Primakov said that there were forces in Iran which were interested in the normalisation of the situation in Lebanon. Russia has ways to influence Iran and make it step up control over the activities of Hizballah. At the same time, he pointed out that Israel was "not the only side that has reason." The other side also has some weighty arguments, specifically in connection with too great loss of life among the civilian population, which cannot be justified.

Israeli President Ezer Weizman said after his meeting with Primakov that "Russia is not going to play the role of an indifferent onlooker."

Speaking to another high-ranking foreign emissary visiting Israel — French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette, his Israeli counterpart Ehud [illegible]aq also said that Israel preferred to deal mostly with the United States in settling the situation in Lebanon.

Russia: Primakov Criticizes U.S. Stance on Near East Peace Efforts

LD2204204296 Moscow NTV in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Apr 96

[From the "Segodnya at Midnight" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Late on Monday evening, Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov returned from his trip to the Near East where he tried to assist a settlement of the Israeli-Lebanese conflict.

[Begin Primakov recording, interviewed in airport foyer] I would like to draw several conclusions from what occurred. The first is that the crisis is really very serious. It is blocking the further progress along the path of a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Second, Russia is doing everything to resolve that crisis and Russia is acting on the basis of its experience accumulated over many years, of its wide connections there, of its image, using the image that was developed over many years, and naturally, its potential, too. I do not think that is so little. I saw this for myself during my trip.

The third thing I would like to say is that we are acting in a coordinated way more with France, less with the United States, more with the European Community than, unfortunately, with the United States. It is not Russia's fault that it was not a participant in the so-called pool. There was no pool as such because, on the whole one may speak rather now of a mission that one state is trying to implement alone.

But we... [pauses] The main thing for us is not to earn some kind of political dividends. The main thing for us is that there should be peace in that region. And we have perhaps a greater interest than others in there being peace and stability. [end recording]

Russia: Moroccan King Replies to Yeltsin Appeal on Chechen Talks

LD2304100196 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0621 GMT 23 Apr 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Lagutin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rabat, 23 Apr (ITAR-TASS) — King Hassan II of Morocco, who has taken on himself the mission of an intermediary in settling the Chechen problem, sent a reply message to Russian President Boris Yeltsin. It was learned here today that the willingness and desire of the Moroccan king to assist in settling the crisis in Chechnya is confirmed in the message. Boris Yeltsin's peace initiative which is aimed

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at a political solution of this acute problem is highly appraised in the message.

The first steps in a quest for ways and means of attaining a settlement in Chechnya are expected to be taken in the next few days. Moroccan political circles highly value the fact that the Russian president appealed to the Moroccan monarch, believing this to be a well thought out and balanced decision by the Russian leadership, taking into consideration the prominent role that King Hassan II plays in the Muslim world as chairman of the Islamic Conference Organization.

Russia: Moscow Denies Plans To Grant Political Asylum to Karadzic

LD2204123196 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0953 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 22 (Interfax) — Russia has no intention of granting political asylum to Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratco Mladic, a Russian Foreign Ministry official said.

"At least the Foreign Ministry is unaware of such intentions," the official told Interfax on Monday.

The international tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague has issued arrest warrants for Mladic and Karadzic and "they remain in force," he added.

"The tribunal acts on the basis of the U.N. Security Council's decision and therefore, considering the supremacy of international law over national legislation, any country where Mladic and Karadzic may happen to be must detain them and, after identification, send them to The Hague," he said.

At the same time, the official noted that "this is in theory ... In practice, we have to take into account the fact that an arrest of Mladic and Karadzic may cause an explosion among the Bosnian Serbs and seriously aggravate the settlement process in the former Yugoslavia on the whole."

Russia: Moscow To Send 400-Troop Relief Party to Bosnia

LD2204203196 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2006 GMT 22 Apr 96

[By Sergey Ostanin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 23 (Itar-Tass) — Russia will send 400 paratroopers to Bosnia at the end of April to relieve their fellow soldiers from a discrete airborne brigade which has been serving in the former Yugoslavia as part of an international peacekeeping force.

The examination of the battalion will be held in Ryazan on Wednesday, officials in the Russian Defence Ministry's Department of Information told Itar-Tass on Monday.

There are currently 1,600 Russian paratroopers in Bosnia who have been ensuring the implementation of the Dayton peace agreements for Bosnia since the end of February.

The brigade, commanded by Colonel Aleksandr Lentsov, has over 100 combat vehicles and armoured personnel carriers, 10 artillery guns and 300 vehicles. It controls an area 70 kilometres long and 45 kilometres wide on the line dividing Bosnian Serbs and Moslems in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Russia: Pakistan Ready To Help Free Russian Pilots in Afghanistan

LD1904123096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0950 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 19 (Interfax) — Pakistan is ready to help the liberation as soon as possible of Russian pilots, seized last August by the Afghan Taliban opposition movement, Pakistani Ambassador to Russia Tanvir Ahmad Khan told Chairman of the Duma International Committee Vladimir Lukin on Thursday.

The ambassador stressed that Pakistan understands topicality of this problem, Lukin's press secretary Viktor Parshutkin told Interfax.

Lukin informed the Pakistani diplomat about Thursday's statement of the State Duma on the liberation of pilots detained in Kandahar, Afghanistan.

The ambassador and the law-maker also discussed some aspects of bilateral relations, including "the possibility of more intensive interparliamentary contacts."

The IL-76 plane of the Aerostan private air company, based in the Russian republic of Tatarstan, was forced to land by Taliban aviation, when carrying ammunition from Albania to Kabul. The plane was leased by the Afghan government via intermediaries.

Russia: Chinese Foreign Minister Makes Stopover in Moscow

LD2204181796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1753 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 22 (Itar-Tass) — Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen made a stopover in Moscow before returning home from his 10-day European and Transcaucasian tour.

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Qichen had visited Macedonia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, and then met U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in the Hague for talks on bilateral relations.

In a Moscow airport, he was met by Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Panov in charge of Pacific Rim affairs. Upon arrival, Qichen headed to the Chinese embassy for a brief rest.

Russian diplomats declined to comment on whether Qichen planned to discuss any matters related to President Boris Yeltsin's forthcoming visit to China. Yeltsin is scheduled to depart for Beijing on April 24. He will also visit Shanghai.

Russia: 'Hot Line' To Be Set Up Between Moscow, Beijing

LD2204131296 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1250 GMT 22 Apr 96

[By RIA Novosti correspondent Nataliya Salnikova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, APRIL 22 RIA NOVOSTI — A "hot line" will be established between the Russian President and Chinese leaders during Boris Yeltsin's visit to China, presidential aide on international issues Dmitriy Ryurikov has told a briefing today.

This line will be the first one for the Chinese leaders to have direct communication with the head of another state. Similar lines existed only between Moscow, Washington, Bonn, Paris and London.

Touching upon Russia's attitude to the problem of Taiwan, Ryurikov stressed that Russia considers Taiwan to be a part of the territory of China and hopes that this problem will be settled proceeding from the wisdom which has always been typical of the Chinese people.

According to Ryurikov, the problems which have emerged with the demarcation of borders between Russia and China should not affect the course of the talks. The presidential aide also noted that the government of Russia regarded with understanding the wishes of local administrations in this issue. Ryurikov further said that work had been frozen with respect for the disputed sections of demarcation. "One should not dramatise the situation," stressed he. Ryurikov also noted that the 1991 treaty on demarcation is valid today as well.

Russia: Yeltsin Wants To Preserve 1953 Korean Armistice Pact

LD1904125796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1250 GMT 19 Apr 96

[By Andrey Varlamov and Andrey Kirillov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 19 (Itar-Tass) — The agreement on armistice in Korea concluded in 1953 should remain in force, although it has become dated and complicates the situation in the region. Russian President Boris Yeltsin said this at a meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto on Friday [19 April], a representative of the Japanese Foreign Ministry said.

Efforts should be exerted to prompt the South and the North to go down to a negotiating table, the Russian president said, according to the representative of the Japanese Foreign Ministry.

Hashimoto informed Yeltsin of the South Korean-U.S. proposal to hold a quadripartie meeting on the settlement in the Korean peninsula, in which the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, South Korea, the United States and China could participate. The proposal was advanced during the stay of U.S. President Bill Clinton in Japan. Hashimoto believes that such a meeting must be held, although it is yet unclear what results it will have.

Russia: Yeltsin Says Moscow Will Not Dump Nuclear Waste Into Sea

OW1904123096 Tokyo KYODO in English 1202 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, April 19 KYODO — Russian President Boris Yeltsin promised Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto on Friday [19 April] that his country will not dump nuclear waste into the sea, Japanese officials said.

Yeltsin pledged Russia will sign an annex to the London Treaty, which bans nuclear waste dumping into the sea, by the end of the year and Moscow will not do such dumping before the signing, they said.

After Russia dumped radioactive waste into the Sea of Japan in October 1993, the signatories to the London Treaty revised the annex to impose a stricter ban on such action.

Russia canceled another round of dumping following protest from Japan and South Korea, but refused to accept the revision. Russia is not subject to the obligations.

Prior to the meeting aboard an airplane from Tokyo to Moscow, Hashimoto said his top priority in the meeting is to get a promise from Russia that it will no longer dump nuclear waste into the sea near Japan.

The president also broached at the outset of the session that he hopes to promote relations with Japan based on agreements included in the 1993 Tokyo Declaration, which Yeltsin signed with then Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa, the officials said.

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The declaration acknowledged the existence of a bilateral territorial dispute over four Russian-held islands off Japan's northernmost main island of Hokkaido — Etorofu, Kunashiri and Shikotan islands and the Habomai islets.

Hashimoto and Yeltsin agreed to revitalize high-level talks in a fresh bid to conclude a peace treaty, Japanese officials said.

To this end, the officials said, the two leaders agreed to revive foreign ministerial-level peace treaty talks. The two countries' vice ministers will open a working group meeting after the Russian presidential election in June, the officials added.

Yeltsin told Hashimoto that Russia has reduced its troops on the four disputed islands to 3,500.

Hashimoto and Yeltsin met before the start of a two-day nuclear safety summit.

The document states that the two countries agreed to conclude a peace treaty after resolving the territorial dispute based on the principles of "law and justice."

Hashimoto said he was pleased by Yeltsin's Tokyo Declaration remark and in turn promised that Japan will cooperate to help Russia enter the World Trade Organization.

The premier suggested that Japan and Russia work on the territorial issue after the Russian presidential race in June.

The two leaders shared the view that Japan and Russia should promote the signing of a peace pact and agreed to activate foreign ministerial-level and working-level negotiations on a peace treaty after the presidential election.

Hashimoto said Japan has supported Yeltsin's reform drive and will continue to do so.

The president urged the premier to make an official visit to Russia, but Hashimoto did not give a clear answer, only saying he hopes there comes a time when the two countries can discuss peacefully.

Yeltsin also said he has signed a presidential order on development in the Far East, which he said will favorably affect economic cooperation with Japan in the region.

The president called on Japan to support a Russian bid to enter the Group of Seven industrialized nations to make it the group of eight, but the premier answered that the issue should be taken up with France, which currently chairs the group.

Yeltsin complained that Japan has not seemed very eager to support Moscow's bid to join the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, the officials said.

The Japanese prime minister denied the alleged reluctance and suggested that the Russian wish be discussed at APEC sessions.

Speaking of the Korean Peninsula, Yeltsin said that neither Russia nor Japan wants abandonment of the 1953 truce and that they should maintain contact with North and South Korea on the issue.

The premier voiced hopes for a successful start of proposed four- way talks among both Koreas, China and the United States to discuss the Korean issue, which was initiated by U.S. President Bill Clinton and South Korean President Kim Yong-sam on Tuesday.

The officials described the Hashimoto-Yeltsin meeting as a very friendly one.

Hashimoto's visit to Moscow is the first by a Japanese prime minister since Yasuhiro Nakasone attended the state funeral of Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko and met with his successor Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985.

The hourlong session at the Kremlin came several hours before leaders from the Group of Seven industrialized nations plus Russia and Ukraine kick off a two-day meeting there on nuclear safety and security.

During the multilateral summit, Yeltsin is expected to announce that Moscow will bear more international responsibility for its nuclear policy, while pledging to sign a treaty over compensation for damage caused in nuclear accidents and accept an international ban on the dumping of radioactive waste into the sea.

Besides Hashimoto and Yeltsin, U.S. President Bill Clinton, British Prime Minister John Major, French President Jacques Chirac, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Italian Prime Minister Lamberto Dini and Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien will attend the summit.

Russia: Spokesman Denies Danger of Black-Market Plutonium

AU1904125796 Hamburg DIE WOCHE in German 19 Apr 96 p 31

[Interview with Georgiy Kaurov, spokesman of the Russian Ministry for Nuclear Energy, by Andrzej Rybak; place and date not given: "Basayev Cannot Build an Atomic Bomb"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rybak] CIA chief John Deutch has recently warned that the theft of Russian nuclear material is a serious threat to global security....

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[Kaurov] Mr. Deutch should first clean the dung out of his own pigsty. In Russia we are seriously worried about the sloppy way in which the Americans handle fissile material. I would like to cite a few examples: On 1 March 1994, 243 kg of plutonium went missing from the Savannah River nuclear complex. On 7 February 1996, 6 kg of plutonium disappeared from the Livermore nuclear research center. This is enough to build two bombs.

[Rybak] Plutonium thefts have occurred in Russia, too....

[Kaurov] Weapons-grade nuclear material has never been stolen in Russia. Do not mention the plutonium that was discovered in Munich. I would like to repeat the following: This was a provocation on the part of Mr. Schmidbauer [coordinator of German intelligence services]; everything was staged by the German security authorities. To this very day, we still have not received a sample of the plutonium.

[Rybak] Is the black market for nuclear materials no problem?

[Kaurov] Of course, it is a problem, even though there is no real demand on the black market for fissile materials according to our knowledge. Nevertheless, we want to do everything possible to rule out any possibility of a theft in the future. Together with U.S. experts, we have now developed a new measuring and control system. Eleven of our nuclear institutes are already using this method.

[Rybak] What about controls on nonweapons-grade radioactive material?

[Kaurov] The situation is not too good. We really must take action quickly and remedy grievances.

[Rybak] Terrorists might blackmail the state....

[Kaurov] Are you referring to the container in Ismailovo Park? I had a telephone conversation with Shamil Basayev afterward. He is bluffing. He cannot build an atomic bomb. With the material that he can procure, he can contaminate a few hundred square meters, kill a few people, and cause people to panic, but he cannot trigger a catastrophe. He could not force any state to its knees.

[Rybak] What if he blows up a nuclear power station?

[Kaurov] He will not succeed in doing so. First he must possess one, which is more or less impossible. To be able to blow up a reactor and thus trigger a nuclear disaster, he would have to have detailed knowledge of the station. Such expert knowledge is very rare.

Russia: Yeltsin, Kuchma Discuss Issues in 'Cordial' Atmosphere

LD2004174796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1657 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 20 (Itar-Tass) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin met Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma on Saturday to discuss a wide array of bilateral and international issues, the presidential press service said.

A statement issued by the press service said "Russian President Boris Yeltsin met Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma in the Kremlin today. During the meeting, which was held in a cordial and constructive atmosphere, a wide range of bilateral and international issues was discussed."

Russia: Zyuganov's Reasons for Skipping Meeting With Clinton Eyed

MK2004103596 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 20 Apr 96 p 2

['S.Sh.'-signed report under the "Hospitality" rubric: "A Red Fig"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A whole week of international events has begun for Boris Yeltsin. The nuclear summit has turned into Yeltsin's one-man-show throughout. "Perfect shape," the Canadian premier, who was the first of the G-7 leaders to be granted a rendezvous, noted yesterday after his meeting with Yeltsin. Right after the G-8 summit there will be a meeting with Clinton and a trip to China. Naturally, the president's political rivals will have no role to play in the events. He will be on television day in, day out. They will get a cold shoulder. You cannot but take offense. So, the only way out of the predicament is to attract attention by raising a scandal.

This can be done in various ways. Mr. V.V. Zh. [Zhirinovskiy] simply dismissed today's event as "a meeting of seven crooks," called on Yeltsin not to go to the Asians, and urged the Duma henceforth to meet every day to spite the president and the government. Gennadiy Zyuganov proved to be more ingenious. He expressed his attitude to the goings-on by simply refusing to attend Sunday's meeting with Bill Clinton.

Needless to say, this gathering is conceived as a super-exclusive event. You would go for anyone's throat for the opportunity to be among those invited. Everyone is vying for such a privilege, but I — see how proud I am — will make a point of not going there. The American chief's meeting with Russian politicians is due to be held in the "roundtable" format, calling for a refined, polite conversation of a sort at the ambassador's residence. The Yankees tried to make sure that the faux pas made

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by Polish President Kwasniewski, who held separate one-on-one meetings with Yavlinskiy and Zyuganov, will not be repeated. Svyatoslav Fedorov's staff told us categorically that they had received no invitation from Clinton. Yavlinskiy's staffers responded that Grigoriy Alekseyevich had been invited and would attend without fail. V.V.Zh.'s candidacy, naturally, was not even mentioned. Zyuganov, for his part, appears to be on the point of turning down this honorable invitation, even though his candidacy topped the proposed list of guests. At any rate, by the time this issue was signed to press, the American hosts had not received his consent.

It only remains to guess what this might mean. The Communist chief's entourage has told MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS that they have "no comment" on the matter. Nor can they say anything definite about the refusal of the Red leaders — both Gennadiys, the general secretary and the speaker — to visit Strasbourg as part of the Russian delegation due to attend a meeting of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly. And even earlier Zyuganov's exhibition tour of America did not take place either. And that despite the fact that the visit to France by Yeltsin's key rival was seen as another Davos, yet another revelation of Russian post-perestroyka communism to the world.

Has this been an attempt to demonstrate his freedom and independence from the imperialists, who lavish their attention on Yeltsin? Or a gesture toward the Communist Party's orthodox faction, which is known for its categorical aversion to any contacts with the West?

The invitation was received four days ago. An answer was expected to follow shortly afterward, all the more so because initially the gathering was scheduled for yesterday evening. Now it has been postponed until tomorrow afternoon, when Yeltsin's talks with Clinton will end. It is not yet too late for Zyuganov to relent and to give the Americans the go-ahead. In any case, the requisite repercussions have already been achieved.

Russia: Moscow Summit's Results Summed Up

MM2204150296 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Apr 96 p 3

[Report by Yevgeniy Bay and Vladimir Mikheyev: "All Are Satisfied With the Moscow Meeting, Having Agreed To Work on Resolving Their Differences"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "That was a wonderful summit," Bill Clinton said with utmost sincerity prior to his departure from Moscow.

The remaining members of the G-7 left Russia on the same upbeat note. It was as if they had agreed in advance to conduct this meeting exclusively on a friendly footing.

French President Jacques Chirac was especially affable, referring to Yeltsin only as "dear Boris Nikolayevich." Japan's Premier Ryutaro Hashimoto addressed the Kremlin leader only as "dear friend." Clinton deliberately strove not to display too open a support for Yeltsin, but this was perceived by all present as part of a sophisticated game.

The inertia of the Moscow talks proved so strong that Clinton, throughout his entire 10-hour flight home from Russia, did nothing but play cards. He got so carried away that, even after landing at Andrews AFB, Clinton carried on battling it out around the card table.

But what are the results of the card games played out in Moscow?

Forthcoming Presidential Election in Russia

Bill Clinton emphasized on several occasions that "it would be improper for the United States to advise another country's people how to vote."

But when, in reply to a question at the news conference about what would happen if the Communist Party candidate were to gain victory at the June election, Yeltsin said: "I am not even thinking about it, since I am confident that victory will be mine," Clinton backed him up with a smile. "In this case," he noted, "I have nothing to add to this statement."

"Friend Helmut" proved much more open, declaring that he sees nothing wrong in using the nuclear summit to back Yeltsin. "What is wrong with that?", Helmut Kohl asked. "I personally have the impression that his (Yeltsin's) health is sound and he is ready for battle."

Chechnya

The G-7 leaders avoided at all cost any critical remarks as regards the Kremlin's policy toward Chechnya. Bill Clinton declared that Chechnya is part of Russia. He drew a parallel with last century's Civil War in the United States and said that this region cannot simply secede, just as not a single state can secede from the United States.

John Major told journalists that Yeltsin had shown him a whole series of relatively safe rayons in Chechnya "where there are no problems at all." Britain's premier believes that Yeltsin's efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement represent "a correct and cautious approach" which ought to be welcomed.

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Nuclear Test Ban

The G-8, including four of the five officially recognized nuclear powers in the world, boldly took on a commitment: To conclude a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty in the fall. Paris, which until recently shook the Mururoa Atoll with nuclear explosions, said "yes." Moscow, which initially disliked the formulation, said "yes." They all agreed with the idea of a "zero threshold," which puts an end even to nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Now it is down to "junior": To persuade China, which will be tackled, on his own initiative and with the summit's blessing, by Boris Yeltsin who will be traveling to Beijing shortly.

Arms Control

Now that Reagan's dream of the "star wars" weapons has been revived, the Americans have started thinking about elaborating their own new antimissile defense systems. But they have a problem: The limitations agreed upon in the 1972 Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty.

While in Moscow Bill Clinton almost lifted this obstacle for the United States. He successfully drew a line distinguishing between "strategic and tactical ABM." Whereas the ABM Treaty's limitations extend to weapons for the destruction of ballistic missiles, they do not extend to weapon systems designed for "theater combat operations."

Who knows, it may well be that, by dint of an unspoken bilateral agreement, Bill Clinton might have promised in exchange to take into account Moscow's desire to revise the flank limitations under the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, which does not allow — in the new geopolitical situation — the maintenance of "adequate" quantities of soldiers and combat equipment in Kaliningrad and Leningrad Oblasts, and mainly in the Caucasus region.

NATO's Expansion

The result of trade-offs on a topic that is painful for the self-esteem of both presidents — the extension of the NATO military bloc's borders closer to Russia's borders — is quite obscure. Boris Yeltsin not only announced agreement "that there will be no forcing of NATO's expansion for some time yet," but also did not rule out an appearance in the foreseeable future of a document under which "no country will be able to join NATO without Russia's consent."

If the prototype of such an agreement was indeed mooted in the affable atmosphere at the summit, this could be deemed an historic victory for Russian diplomacy, since Moscow would essentially gain that which is being denied to it outright and very publicly: The right to veto and block any fateful decisions by the North Atlantic alliance.

Peaceful Atom

The final sentence passed on nuclear reactors fraught with a possible Chernobyl calamity proved softer than expected. Back in Munich four years ago, the G-7 almost categorically insisted that all aging reactors of the flawed model be shut down. This rigidity was softened in Moscow. They have agreed on "transparency" in the nuclear power sphere, on "certification" of installations, and on the need to bring the risky components "to an acceptable level of safety requirements."

The "Greens" are unhappy. Leonid Kuchma is unhappy, annoyed by the fact that he does not know how the $3 billion apparently allocated "for Chernobyl" will be spent. And by the fact that the rich G-7 did not promise anything more in Moscow.

Nuclear Deal With Iran

This question created the most differences although, as Clinton declared, it did not "undermine" the overall spirit of cooperation at the summit. At the same time, the U.S. President was categorical enough. "Yes, this is a bad idea," he said, emphasizing that the United States is against the sale of nuclear components to Iran since it is convinced that this country intends to acquire its own atom bomb, despite its assurances.

Foreign journalists noted that Yeltsin's answers about the Iranian deal at the joint news conference with Clinton were the least intelligible. The Russian president said only that the question of Iran had not been on the summit agenda. "We had a contract with Iran to supply a submarine, and we did so," Yeltsin said, adding in broken English: "And no problems."

Russia: 'Foundations Laid' for 'Full-Fledged G-8'

MM2304092696 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Apr 96 p 1

[Report by Pavel Shinkarenko: "Foundations of a Full-Fledged 'G-8' Laid at Summit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting of the heads of state and government of the United States, Britain, Germany, Italy, Canada, France, Russia, and Japan on questions of nuclear safety took place in Moscow 19-20 April on Boris Yeltsin's initiative. Five documents were adopted at the summit. Chief among them was the Declaration of the Moscow Summit on Nuclear Safety. In addition, a program for countering illegal trafficking in nuclear materials was approved, as well as three statements — on a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, on the

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Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, and on events in the Near East.

The meeting's cochairmen, Russian President Boris Yeltsin and French President Jacques Chirac, were unanimous: The Moscow meeting is an important step in the direction of increasing general nuclear safety. The Russian head of state stressed: "We conducted a discussion not as rivals but as friends, because the atom used to divide, but now unites our countries."

Atomic energy, which for four decades was a field of rivalry between East and West and the most important argument in the "Cold War" and the arms race, is becoming, in Jacques Chirac's words, a symbol of the new relationship between three poles of influence — Russia, the United States, and the European Union.

Immediately after the end of the Moscow meeting, your correspondent conducted express-interviews with a number of Russian specialists who participated directly in the preparation and holding of the Moscow summit.

"I was not involved with the organizational aspect of the meeting, so allow me to express gratitude to the people who took care of that," Yuriy Baturin, national security adviser to the Russian Federation president, said. "And when the work is well organized, things go well. The discussion was productive. And it was not merely formal, but very concrete. That promoted the success of the decisions adopted."

[Shinkarenko] A program for countering illegal trafficking in nuclear materials was adopted at the summit. Is this threat really so great that it demands the leaders' attention?

[Baturin] We recognize the existence of the problem, and also the danger represented by illegal transactions even with small quantities of nuclear materials. Russia therefore proceeds from the need to clamp down on this illegal trafficking by every possible means. However, in my view this phenomenon has not reached such a scale that we can talk about a threat of proliferation of nuclear materials for the purposes of obtaining weapons. Of course, the problem of nuclear theft is a very tricky one, and so international efforts are needed to eradicate it, primarily on a bilateral basis. Here the confidentiality of information passed on is important. It is also necessary to eliminate the so-called "controlled channels" for the transfer of nuclear materials which are arranged under the surveillance of the special services in order to expose the buyer or seller. An example is the cooperation with the FRG regarding uranium-235 smuggling. But the materials intercepted on that occasion were low-enriched, at a level of only 4-5 percent, and in very small quantities. But the main point is that the real clients were still not identified. There were intermediaries who did not know who was at the end of the chain. [Baturin ends]

My next interviewee was Igor Ivanov, general secretary of the meeting and Russian Federation first deputy foreign minister.

"The summit," he says, "was focused on a very important group of problems associated with nuclear safety. And the leaders represented countries that use 80 percent of the world's nuclear energy capacities and 90 percent of the nuclear materials produced. That is why the decisions adopted at the summit were so weighty.

"The 'G-8' adopted a statement declaring the readiness in September of this year to sign a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. But without China, such an accord cannot be comprehensive.

"Russian President Boris Yeltsin's official visit to China is scheduled for 24-26 April. As Boris Nikolayevich stated at the press conference, he will without fail brief the Chinese leaders on the results of the Moscow meeting. This statement will undoubtedly be discussed too."

The third specialist was Economy Minister Yevgeniy Yasin, who is the Russian president's agent ("sherpa") on the "G-8."

"We have had talks before," he said. "But since each of us saw his interlocutor as an enemy, he sought to include as many restrictive measures as possible in the document: don't do this, don't do that. This time, for the first time, we were deciding what we could do together to make nuclear power safe. As FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl said, we, the people of today, that is, those who are living now, cannot fully assess the importance of the agreements adopted. They are oriented toward the 21st century, so they are of historic significance."

[Shinkarenko] So the "G-8" can be considered valid?

[Yasin] We are working toward that. We will try to consolidate the success achieved in Moscow at the next summit, which is to take place in Lyons in June 1996.

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Each leader has his own position. Especially when it comes to money. Experience has shown that they have difficulty reaching agreement among the G-7 countries — seven rich countries, at that. Did you hear Chirac on why they give money for Bosnia but not for Lebanon? And the presence of each new participant, and a participant, moreover, who is not very rich and not capable of assuming similar commitments, is a problem. The FRG and France are for our participation in the "G-8." But the United States and Japan do not really want it. But we will try. The foundations of a full-fledged "G-8" were laid at the Moscow summit.

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Political Issues

Russia: Chernomyrdin Forms Commission To Investigate Convoy Attack

LD2204170596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1507 GMT 16 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 22 (Interfax) — Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, head of a state commission on Chechen settlement, has ordered the creation of a special commission to investigate the April 16 attack on a federal troop convoy by Chechen rebels. The commission is to be headed by Russian Justice Minister Valentin Kovalyov.

According to the Defense Ministry, 53 servicemen were killed and 52 wounded as a result of the attack.

Chernomyrdin ordered state commission members who spent the past days in Grozny to investigate the tragic incident, Nationalities Minister Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, a member of the state commission, told Interfax Monday.

Upon his return from Grozny to Moscow Monday, Mikhaylov told Interfax that he had already informed Chernomyrdin about the information available as to the April 16 incident.

The issue will be discussed at the state commission meeting Tuesday, he said.

In addition, the state commission will analyze various approaches to the political settlement of the Chechen crisis and will discuss financing of reconstruction works in Chechnya.

According to Mikhaylov, the new commission will leave for Chechnya Wednesday, April 24, to study the situation at the site of the April 16 incident.

The results of the commission's work will be communicated to the prime minister and the president, he said.

Russia: Major Kremlin Reshuffles Seen Pending Over Chechnya

MK2304081996 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Apr 96 p 1

[Report by Alan Kasayev under general headline: "Transition From War to Peace in Chechnya Has Not Materialized. The Views of Politicians and Military on Ways To Settle the Crisis Diverge More and More"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The evens that occurred in the State Duma last Friday [19 April] — namely, an unusually tough statement by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev with thinly veiled criticism of Boris Yeltsin's peace plan and his declared readiness to resign — are to all appearances a prelude to upcoming serious personnel changes in Moscow. As is known, in the past three weeks implementation of the Chechen peace program has not as yet produced any visible positive results. Moreover, federal troops have in effect continued to destroy large populated areas in this North Caucasus republic, while an unusually successful large-scale action by Dzhokhar Dudayev's fighters has led to losses among Russian army servicemen unprecedented since the storming of Groznyy in December 1994-January 1995.

According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA sources, who requested anonymity, the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office has prepared a certain document for the president that contains preliminary results of the analysis of the situation in the Chechen Republic following a trip to the region by General Prosecutor Yuriy Skuratov in March. Sources say that the General Prosecutor's Office has revealed a practice whereby some of the bodies of servicemen killed in action are concealed [and therefore not reported]. No records of civilian casualties are maintained. Those who have seen the text of the General Prosecutor's Office's document claim that there have been instances of individual servicemen refusing to obey orders from their commanders, which led to unjustified losses. Said facts can well serve as the requisite documentary base for the Russian leadership's decision to resort to another series of personnel changes, notably among the top military command.

Meanwhile Dzhokhar Dudayev, who has considerably boosted his moral authority in Chechen society in the past few days thanks to his military success, has tried to consolidate it, announcing the creation of a Coordinating Council of Representatives of Chechen Public-Political Parties and Movements. The council includes, among others — and this represents a substantial expansion in Dudayev's social base ahead of possible negotiations with the Russian side — the mufti of Chechnya and a representative of the movement led by Lechi Magomadov, Dudayev's former close associate, who then switched in opposition to him. Generally speaking, in the past few days Dudayev has displayed atypical political activity, coming out with various statements, oftentimes quite contradictory. The latest one has reached, among others, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's editorial office. As head of the executive branch of the "Chechen Republic of Ichkeria," Dudayev states that any attempt to end the Russian-Chechen war by force are doomed to failure, once again threatening to "shift military operations to other regions." Dudayev reiterated his position on possible negotiations, noting that they "can proceed only with respect to matters of war and peace," also pointing out that military action "will not be stopped as

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long as Russian troops remain on the territory of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria."

In light of the aforementioned developments and public or private assessments of them, noteworthy is the rather unexpected statement in support of President Yeltsin's peace plan made at the end of the nuclear security summit by U.S. President Clinton, who drew a parallel between the Chechen events and the Civil War of the mid-19th century in the United States itself. It is quite clear that the position of the G-7 members toward what is happening or will happen in Russia in the next few weeks is marked by an extremely firm trend to support the incumbent president.

In this situation, it is perfectly obvious to many observers that the transition from the military phase in Chechnya to the peace phase has not occurred. For it to begin and to produce any positive results in the 52 days before the presidential election, a figure of virtually any stature might have to be sacrificed.

Russia: Zyuganov Lays Wreath at Lenin Mausoleum

LD2204145496 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1300 GMT 22 Apr 96

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of communist parties are marking Lenin's birthday today without any special celebrations or large-scale events. This morning, Gennadiy Zyuganov, [leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, CPRF], members of the Duma faction of the CPRF, and members of the party's Moscow city committee laid wreaths at the mausoleum. [video shows Zyuganov laying wreath, other members accompanying him, and crowd gathering around mausoleum]

Russia: Red Flag Edict Marks End to 'Rejection'

MM2204145496 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Apr 96 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Golts: "Time To Reject the Rejection"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The week has been truly a busy one. Moscow received the leaders of the top world powers taking part in the nuclear safety conference. There has been talk about possible talks on Chechnya and a search for intermediaries. And in Chechnya itself the gunmen have embarked on sabotage and terror. Finally, the presidential election campaign is in full swing. I fear that all these truly important events could overshadow one which is possibly the most important of them all. Because this event could be the first sign of major change not only in Russian domestic policy but in our consciousness.

We are talking about the presidential edict giving the Victory Banner equal status with the Russian state flag. The red flag with the star will now fly on a legitimate basis at our festivities. Of course, there is a considerable temptation to say that this decision is due to the coming election. People will say that the president has decided to please veterans and, at the same time, to wrest from them their favorite slogan — "the Victory Banner to the Kremlin."

I see a completely different reason. Let us ask why the presidential election is being seen yet again by everyone as something "fateful," as a chance for a fundamental turnaround in everyone's lives. After all, the Americans, the French, and the Germans certainly do not view their election campaigns in this way. The answer is basically known: Most of the candidates see absolutely no points of contact with their opponents. Some of their policy statements create the impression that, were they to come to power, they would start everything "from scratch, and then afterward...."

It is a special feature of our country that the "from scratch" part is entirely successful every time. It is the "afterward" part that is not so good. Maybe for the simple reason that people who have devoted themselves to destruction and consider any dissenter an irreconcilable enemy cannot create anything sensible. Some of the most radical supporters of democracy continue to stubbornly claim that all our current ills are due to our failure to "really" deal with the CPSU.

But the reality is quite different — quite the opposite, if you like. In our revolutionary zeal of 1991 we did away with too much of what seemed at the time to be no more than symbols of a certain ideology. Among other things, we abolished the red flag. Having forgotten that people not only marched on demonstrations under that banner, but sometimes to their deaths. And they died not for Communist ideology but for their motherland! But even this concept seemed somehow dubious to the radicals. I recall that the word "patriot" became at the time virtually a swear-word (as a result, it was usurped by extreme nationalists). People tried to show us that our entire history (at least our history in this century) was no more than a "tale of woe."

The results of this struggle were baleful. Destroyed monuments and renamed streets made nobody any cleverer or more humane. They made them more cynical, convincing them yet again that Russia was a country with an unpredictable history. That is why Russian politicians are still fighting to try to think up some overall idea for the state. But such an idea will

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not come out of thin air. It is possible only on the basis of values common to the overwhelming majority of this country's inhabitants. The Great Patriotic War victory was undoubtedly one such value. It is not only or not so much the veterans who need the return of the main symbol of that victory. It is needed more by the youngsters who are fighting under quite different circumstances in a quite different war for their country's integrity. They, and we too, need to remember that this country has come through the most difficult trials, and with honor.

The president's edict, it seems to me, marks a very important turning point. The time is coming to reject the rejection. The endless quest for enemies, traitors, and plotters is no more than a vicious circle, a road to nowhere. The most sophisticated politicians have noticed this. Here too the start of the election campaign is very noteworthy. It is clear that Boris Yeltsin has quite deliberately rejected anticommunist rhetoric. And by no means because he has suddenly felt the force of his political opponents' views. He simply realizes that the people for whose votes he is fighting are in general profoundly indifferent to ideology as such. They are interested in other problems: the possibility of living in freedom and security, the possibility of ensuring a normal existence for themselves and their families. In this respect Yeltsin's trip to Krasnodar Kray is very noteworthy. People who cannot be classed as supporters of the president clearly changed their tone when he started talking not about generalities but about quite specific problems of life today.

The need to find common values is, albeit very slowly, getting through to the president's political opponents as well. After all, there is essentially a national consensus on the question of deeper integration among the former Union republics. Once again the time has come to reject the recent wholesale rejection of all the many centuries' experience of coexistence by the different peoples. And virtually all important Russian politicians advocate reviving ties that were broken off in the heat of the moment. Another example is that exactly the same consensus has emerged within the Russian political elite on a most acute international problem. I refer to the question of NATO's eastward expansion. People of completely different political outlooks are very sharply opposed to these plans. And, clearly, they are opposing them because the country's security represents a common value for them.

No, there are not so many of these common values any more. And sometimes senseless hostility still holds sway on the Russian political scene. But we do have a chance to rally the people. We must not miss that chance.

Media Issues

Russia: NTV Chief News Editor Dobrodeyev Interview

964F1855A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 96 p 16

[Interview with NTV Editor in Chief Oleg Dobrodeyev by Andrey Vandenko; place and date not given: "NTV's Chief Information Man Oleg Dobrodeyev"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Amazing: The "Who's Who in Russia and the Near Abroad" reference book has rather detailed entries on NTV television company news anchors Yevgeniy Kiselev and Tatyana Mitkova, but fails to mention Oleg Dobrodeyev. Despite the fact that Oleg Borisovich, NTV's editor in chief, is in fact, if one may put it this way, the person in charge of all news on this television channel. Well, all one can do is complain about the fickleness of television fame. People know and love those whom they see on the screen, and have little interest in those outside the frame. Curiosity is not a sin, however—why not listen to a man who in the past headed the Ostankino and Russian Channel news services and built from scratch "Segodnya" and "Itogi" on NTV?

[Vandenko] It is known that the two pillars on which NTV rests are first-rate movies and an equally first-rate news service. In the beginning, nobody even tried to challenge the thesis that news is your true business. Lately, however, once in a while one hears criticism that NTV is slipping. As a company patriot, surely you will try to argue?

[Dobrodeyev] This is not even a question of patriotism. There is not much NTV news can be criticized for. We still operate faster and more promptly than any other domestic television company, and, as a rule, provide more objective information reflecting the true picture. I cannot say that we succeed in absolutely everything, but it is unfair to say that we are running in place. We continue to expand our service quantitatively, expand representation in Russia's regions, open new bureaus, and hence have more information from the ground level. What has happened, however, is that the stage of initial fascination with the mere fact of existence of a nongovernment television news service is over. But this is normal. If you recall, at first our quick demise was predicted. Nobody is saying this today. Is this not evidence that we are doing fine?

[Vandenko] If one watches attentively the news on the main television channels, one notices that the lead news item on NTV and, for instance, ORT [Public Russian Television] is frequently different.

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[Dobrodeyev] Not that often. Anyway, we do not try to set ourselves apart this way on purpose. Life defines the priorities.

[Vandenko] Nevertheless, at NTV the right to choose the lead of the day is yours, is it not?

[Dobrodeyev] It varies. At "Segodnya," for instance, a whole team works on the program, and each member can participate in discussing the program's layout. I cannot say that my word is decisive, but neither would I hide that the chief editor's voice has a certain weight in the final decisionmaking.

[Vandenko] What if, for instance, you are away from Ostankino?

[Dobrodeyev] There is a mobile phone.

[Vandenko] And what does one do if "the number does not answer or temporarily out of reach?"

[Dobrodeyev] Impossible. I also carry another phone that always picks up.

But this is not even the point. Professionalism assumes that a number of requirements be met unfailingly. In practical terms, the news service in any television company resembles the military in level of discipline: A very strict daily schedule, tight rules with respect to behavior, even certain restrictions on freedom. Strictly speaking, you cannot even call it work in the usual sense of the word—it is a lifestyle. Correspondents are prepared to be pulled out of bed or away from a holiday table at any time of the day or night and be sent on a business trip to faraway lands. Our reporters always keep a packed travel bag ready.

I have my own level of responsibility. For instance, I know when the deadline for "Segodnya" is approaching and I have to get in touch, find a way to discuss the program's layout with the anchor. The closer to the evening, the more frequently we are in touch. And this is not the sin of mistrust in my colleagues. I have no desire to control or recheck. It is more like a backup. I am usually at Ostankino until 2000, and after that we continue to stay in touch though hourly teleconferences.

As to creative restrictions, we do not have any, of course. As a rule, nobody interferes with the internal structure of the material, how it is done. The author has the final say in this.

[Vandenko] From the very beginning NTV bet on big names, and invited prominent journalists. Viewers knew Kiselev, Mitkova, and Osokin before they came to NTV. Has betting on stars fully paid off?

[Dobrodeyev] I think so. Kiselev, Mitkova, and Osokin are not just recognizable journalists—they are top-notch professionals made for independent creative work. You have to understand that our anchors, in addition to the purely presentational function of being the "voice" of the news, practically serve as chief editors of current news, assuming responsibility for practically all questions related to the program.

The worst part in the life of any news service begins when a member of the creative staff is refused trust or deprived of the ability to make decisions. In news programs everything is frequently decided in seconds; there is no time for approvals and consultations. You have to have the right to say: "I assume responsibility!" This is an axiom: An irresponsible person cannot work in the news business—he will inevitably slip. Of course, in the most critical situations the senior official always has the last word, but this is natural, too.

For instance, on 1 March last year, several minutes before the end of the ten o'clock news, we received information about Vlad Listyev's murder. The news were so horrible that it was incredibly difficult to put it on the air. We all knew and loved Vlad. What if it was a mistake? What if it was a lie? There was practically no time left for rechecking or clarification—as I said, the news program was coming to an end. Still, we waited until the last moment, until we had the fact confirmed by three independent sources. Only after that, on my authority, did I give the order: "Report it!"

I cited this example deliberately, so that you would understand the psychological complexity of a situation that people working in a news service frequently encounter.

[Vandenko] Of the two "Segodnya" anchors, which one is easier for you to work with?

[Dobrodeyev] We have known each other for a long time, learned everything there is to know about each other, and have smoothed out any differences. With Tanya we have been together since 1984, when we were both editors on the "International Panorama" program. Misha started under my command at TSN—Channel 1's television news service. So it is hard for me to say now which one it is easier for me to work with, and which one—more difficult. We work together— this says it all.

[Vandenko] I will pose the question differently: Who is more reliable—Mitkova or Osokin?

[Dobrodeyev] Producing television news is a complex technological process, and therefore it is hardly proper to look separately at the reliability of an individual person. Either the whole chain operates smoothly, or the mechanism keeps jamming all the time. Igor Kirillov uttered a long time ago a phrase I would gladly subscribe to: "People working in information business are like a mountain-climbing team. If one falls—all

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plunge into the abyss." Mitkova may be perfectly ready to go on the air and a problem would suddenly arise because, for instance, an editor mixed up the subtitles, or an assistant sound operator was careless in setting up the microphones. How do you safeguard against this? A live broadcast always means being on the verge of a heart attack. And we now have almost two hours of live broadcasts every evening: "Segodnya" goes on at 1900, 2200, and midnight, and also "Hero of the Day" program. The only salvation is the reliability of everybody and everything.

Speaking concretely about anchorpersons, I want to say that these people are made of iron from a psychological standpoint. They were probably marked by God Almighty, who made them specifically for television work. A normal person would not have survive living at such a pace and with such stress. But our anchorpersons manage somehow. No reflections that are so typical of creative people; no letting-up.

Unfortunately, I cannot say the same of other journalists. I frequently have to play uncle, grandmother, and nanny to them.

[Vandenko] Do you have to get tough sometimes? For instance, fire someone and walk away?

[Dobrodeyev] Naturally—is it possible not to? I am ruthless when our people lose to the competition. An NTV journalist has to be there first, has to be at the heart of events before others and send the item to Moscow. If you cannot handle it—you are gone.

You should not abuse strictness, though. You cannot be demonstratively tough with journalists. Creative personalities not only are willful—they are also very touchy and easily take offense.

[Vandenko] Have you offended, by any chance, your special correspondent Yelena Masyuk, who made a stir several months ago with sensational reports from Chechnya? Where has Masyuk disappeared?

[Dobrodeyev] Lena is currently in the United States, lecturing at the invitation of a local university.

[Vandenko] Is this not an honorary exile? I heard rumors that it was recommended that Masyuk be temporarily taken off the air after the scandal around the news item on the radioactive container planted by Dudayevites in downtown Moscow and discovered by Masyuk.

[Dobrodeyev] After that incident, Yelena made another trip to Chechnya.

Frankly, I cannot imagine who could advise us to suspend a correspondent.

[Vandenko] The FSB [Federal Security Service], for instance.

[Dobrodeyev] Impossible.

We were absolutely clean in the situation with that container. Moreover, from a professional standpoint we were interested in following up on the subject and developing the story further, but in this concrete instance, security considerations were overriding. We had to sacrifice the hot item.

You understand, do you not? Had we indeed put ourselves on the spot with this radioactive container, the matter would not be limited to a recommendation to keep Masyuk off the air...

[Vandenko] Nevertheless, I assume you will not argue the point that you periodically create sensations out of thin air?

[Dobrodeyev] It would be silly to argue this. We do bring attention to individual facts people do not notice, but this is precisely what constitutes the highest mastery—to turn an elective, subsidiary topic into the main event of the day. Yes, sometimes we deliberately dramatize the situation, but in principle, without that, there is no journalism.

[Vandenko] Is the acrimonious scandal with Yeltsin's press secretary Sergey Medvedev, who once refused your film crew access to the Kremlin, among such self-made items?

[Dobrodeyev] No, this was different. Of course, we could have swallowed it and stayed silent. There was such a suggestion, but... Several "buts" right away: First, people working in information structures a priori have a more acute reaction to such things. This is akin to comparing the methods employed by internists and surgeons to deal with medical issues. A political commentator could afford to take a philosophical, observational view of the problem: So what, they refused my accreditation, this is not a good reason to quarrel with people I will need again tomorrow. Reporters, however—they are, of course, like surgeons: No delay—scalpel, cut! We had to recall the film crew with Marianna Maksimovskaya from the Kremlin gate, and as a service head I felt personally insulted, because to a certain extent it was a slap in the face to all of us, and me personally.

It was obvious to me that my subordinates waited for my reaction: Would I swallow the insult or strike back? This is the second point. And thirdly, ambitions aside, we should not forget about the working side of it. Television lives by video material. A talking head cannot

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replace a picture from the site of the event. Unlike newspapers, we cannot survive on information agency reports alone. We have to show something. Medvedev's refusal objectively affected the quality of our information program. This is a question of honor. I assure you that in such a situation any self-respecting company, regardless of its political coloration and loyalty or opposition to the ruling regime, would have reacted just as strongly, even aggressively. This bureaucratic arbitrariness was especially unpleasant because it originated from our former colleague. We reminded Medvedev that his main profession is journalism, and the press service is a temporary retreat.

[Vandenko] In short, he tried to show you your place, and you disagreed.

[Dobrodeyev] You could put it this way too. In the Kremlin they probably did not count on us daring to wash our dirty linen in public and publicizing the scandal.

[Vandenko] Have you grown so bold now that you can afford to bare your teeth, or did you permit yourself to do something of this kind in the past?

[Dobrodeyev] Remember the troops being sent to Chechnya in December 1994? What was shown then on Channel 1, what commentary was broadcast? Also recall what Kiselev said in the "Itogi" program that aired the first day after the beginning of military operations. Or take the incident with "Puppets," against which Ilyushenko fought so long and so unsuccessfully. We deliberately stuck our necks out, although of course none of us by definition want to complicate relations with the structures in charge of journalists' access to those in positions of authority. It is in our interests to resolve everything peacefully. We create a conflict only in extreme situations, when we are threatened with our channel's shutdown, revocation of our broadcasting license, or a lawsuit against a particular program. These are situations where we go all the way. Otherwise, we usually prefer to smooth things over. These are journalists' tears that remain invisible to the world.

[Vandenko] You mentioned in passing revocation of license. Do you think it is still possible?

[Dobrodeyev] No, but... You know our country. How can one speak affirmatively of anything here? There is no legal way to revoke our broadcasting license. We will win in court—provided, however, it is a court trial and not a revolutionary tribunal decision to crush NTV.

[Vandenko] Is this about what may happen after 16 June? Are you afraid of the election results?

[Dobrodeyev] I am worried. Actually, I am also worried about what we can expect before the elections. I am convinced that as we approach H-hour, public hysteria and political psychosis will rise. This situation may present serious complications in our work. In such conditions, some of our reliable, ongoing sources of information may disappear or get out of the game. We risk losing people who are usually called "confidential sources," and people providing information through unofficial channels are particularly valuable for any information service. What are we to do if someone decides that collaborating with us is no longer safe? People who only yesterday reacted to the situation adequately, who remained calm and sober-minded, may suddenly lose their bearings, begin to panic, and try to safeguard themselves. This will inevitably affect the quality of our work.

[Vandenko] Are you concerned that being less informed, you may make impermissible mistakes?

[Dobrodeyev] Precisely! The cost of such mistakes in this concrete situation may turn out to be extremely high.

There is another side to this problem. The experience of the December elections showed how great are the monetary stakes in political games nowadays. To win, people are willing to crush any obstacles—and they have the money to do it.

[Vandenko] Could you get crushed, too?

[Dobrodeyev] By whom?

[Vandenko] This money.

[Dobrodeyev] No, not us. In this respect we have extremely strict rules: Any NTV employee of any rank caught taking a bribe or attempting to push through a hidden promotion will be immediately fired. This is gospel.

I remember the time when money was flowing in to television in a dirty gush. This happened on the eve of the 1993 elections. Candidates for people's deputies were coming to broadcasts with bulky envelopes in their pockets, and the moderators of roundtables in which contenders for deputy seats participated were receiving bundles of money before the broadcast. The notion of ethics on television was seriously damaged then.

[Vandenko] My question, Oleg, was about buying the whole channel wholesale, not bribing individual correspondents.

[Dobrodeyev] Such an option is simply not under consideration when it comes to NTV. In the beginning, there were isolated attempts to buy our air time and

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lobby the interests of certain political groups with the help of our channel. Eventually such offers dried up because we were not receptive.

[Vandenko] What about Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy, then? Or are you going to say that this politician does not enjoy special love and favor on NTV?

[Dobrodeyev] Special—no! Categorically and unequivocally!

The situation with Yavlinskiy and support for him by our television company reminds me of well-planned FSB operations to implant certain information into the public mind. If you repeat the most absurd report over a long period of time, it—the report—eventually will begin to have a life of its own and people will believe it.

Go ahead and analyze the frequency of Yavlinskiy's name being mentioned in our broadcasts, and you will see that he is not even among the top five most-quoted politicians on NTV. Moreover, when the first hints appeared in the press regarding our love for and friendship with Grigoriy Alekseyevich, we became even more careful. I can tell you authoritatively: The frequency of quoting Gaydar on "Itogi" and "Segodnya" is about eight times higher than quoting Yavlinskiy.

[Vandenko] Do you believe that support for a particular politician boils down only to the frequency with which his name is mentioned?

[Dobrodeyev] I repeat: All you need to do is look without prejudice at how NTV covers Grigoriy Alekseyevich. We were the first to talk openly about all the mistakes Yavlinskiy has made.

[Vandenko] All right, let us say that you have convinced me that Yavlinskiy is not your chosen favorite. Who, then? Or would you still insist that you spread your likes and dislikes equally among all the leading politicians?

[Dobrodeyev] The only public figure who has never been in the "Itogi" studio is Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. I have a feeling he never will. Other parties and their presidential candidates will be presented on our channel commensurate with their role in the political process. We want to work professionally, and therefore do not deprive any authoritative politician of the right to present himself on NTV through his own eyes.

Of course, there will be fresh attempts to sway us in favor of a particular side. We are well aware of the set of tools used in such attempts: money, bribery, threats, arbitrary decisions. I dare to hope that we also know how to deflect it in each particular instance. Of course, any talk of distilled information or 100 percent objectivity can pass only among nonprofessionals. Such things do not happen in real life. However, we are clearly aware of the boundaries of permissible compromise and will never cross them. The spirit of professional journalism lies in the skill to find your own way of covering a particular political event. Since this year there is nothing more important than the presidential elections, we, of course, are seriously preparing for them and will try not to provide any excuse to accuse us of lack of objectivity. It takes blood and sweat to earn respect, and it is easy and simple to lose it by doing something stupid.

[Vandenko] It is public knowledge that at the time of its creation, NTV received a substantial loan from the Most Group. I have no doubt that Most's head Vladimir Gusinskiy is smart enough not to interfere in the company's internal affairs or dictate what it should or should not air, but I am also convinced that a financier who has invested a lot of money in a project cannot help but be concerned about return on investment and the effectiveness of its utilization. Otherwise he will not be a financier. In this connection, it is quite obvious that it is Gusinskiy's job to protect through NTV his strategic and global interests. Which means that you are engaged.

[Dobrodeyev] It is true that the Most Group holds the controlling share of NTV stock. Do not forget, however, that our company is not the only mass media outlet Most is working with. If we follow your logic, SEGODNYA newspaper should pursue an editorial policy similar to ours; in practice, however, it turns out that our approach to many issues is quite different. Suffice it to say that within one year SEGODNYA published two articles sharply critical of my brother. If we were singing to the same tune, such materials would not have appeared, right?

As a person who at one time or another was in charge of every television information service that exists in our country, I doubt very much that there exists a real mechanism for any interested party to directly influence a news service. Of course, one can dictate one's own rules of the game, but one will still have to take reality into account.

And then, financiers are indeed concerned first of all with profits. Television is a lucrative investment, and therefore nobody would take the risk of discrediting his own baby for the sake of some momentary gain. Why kill the goose laying golden eggs? Owning a television company is a project that spans beyond one year or one election marathon.

Of course, I cannot rule out that our investors and partners will have and already have their own political interests associated with the current presidential elections. But we have in our luggage the experience of previous election campaigns. We can sit down with Gusinskiy

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and come to an agreement on everything. I will say once again: Most is interested no less than we are in preserving our channel's high ratings. Nothing will be done to jeopardize the broadcasting policy or the nature of presenting particular material. Believe me, I have no complaints about our creditors—they are extremely proper in their relationship with us. I have considerable experience of working at state-owned channels, and I can compare.

I have now objectively the best young television reporters in the country among my staff. These people trust me, and I will never do anything that would jeopardize their professional reputation. Each of us has only one name in journalism. If you dirty it once, you will never get it clean again. Why would I need this? I have no intention of going into any consulting or press services, and therefore I need to retain the right to look my guys straight in the eye.

[Vandenko] You are saying all the right words. Alas, life shows us that ethics frequently loses to political expedience. A concrete example: You have been waging a long and persistent battle for Channel 4, for the ability to broadcast on it not from 1800 but throughout the whole day. Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin made it clear to you that as long as they are there, you have no hope. Hence...

[Dobrodeyev] I realize that you are deliberately exaggerating the situation, but seriously—would we really sink some people because they refused us and help others because they promised to help? The real situation is far more complicated and intricate. We are not naive people and know the price of election campaign promises. I am rather inclined to think that Yeltsin's and Chernomyrdin's common sense will prevail. Neither has ever made a serious move against independent press and television, although occasionally they have harshly criticized the mass media. Boris Nikolayevich and Viktor Stepanovich are aware that freedom of the press is in their interests.

...To be honest, the fate of Channel 4 is not a priority for me personally at this point. There are other ways to expand the viewing audience. We are currently seriously working on creating a 24-hour information channel. This is absolutely realistic. It is much more difficult to solve the problem of timely access to information. We have already purchased an aircraft that would give us the ability to quickly deliver a satellite dish to an event site. Unfortunately, aircraft cannot fly everywhere, and the roads... You know what kind of roads we have in this country.

[Vandenko] So, back to the classics: NTV has two problems—fools and roads.

[Dobrodeyev] Exactly, just as the classic put it.

Federal Assembly

Russia: Duma Posturing on Chechnya Ambush Seen Tied to Summit

MM2204111396 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 96 p 1

["Rapid Analysis" article by Viktor Litovkin: "Tragedy at Yarysh-Marda: President Shaken, Generals To Blame, Deputies up in Arms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The destruction of the Moscow Military District convoy on the night of 16-17 April is another example of an ineptly organized military operation.

Its tragic results are evidence of the military commanders' total disregard for or their inability to ensure the forces' basic safety — reconnaissance of the route the troops were being moved up on, their comprehensive protection, and organization of constant radio communication with the command and supporting artillery and aircraft, if they had been arranged.

But the leadership of the federal forces in Chechnya believes the situation was blown up by the press. The number of dead was overstated, according to General Tikhomirov. And no one at the Defense Ministry has yet been able to clearly state how many people perished that night.

In the 18-month Chechen war there have been hundreds of similar examples. Some 20-30 and more people die daily, which does not deter top officials at the Defense Ministry, Internal Affairs Ministry, and Federal Counterintelligence Service from claiming that the enemy has been driven into the mountains, cut off from supply bases, and demoralized and that the final victory is very close.... Just one more effort.

But neither after the 1995 January tragedy nor subsequently did the former or the present Duma deal seriously with the military aspect of the Chechen conflict and the disregard on the part of the forces' commanders, particularly at the top level, for protecting and preserving the lives and health of men and officers. Only now has a pretext for tough talking materialized.

As Sergey Chugayev reported from the Duma, the chamber's morning plenary sitting on 19 April was disrupted after LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] faction leader V. Zhirinovskiy asked his colleagues to discuss the tragedy that had occurred in Chechnya. Ostensibly V. Zhirinovskiy's aim was to spoil the mood of the Moscow summit participants.

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At any rate, the LDPR leader, addressing the Duma, described the meeting of the leaders of the "big seven" as a thieves' convention. Some deputies also offered the opinion that nearly 100 dead Russian soldiers was a suitable reason for demonstrating to the summit participants that B. Yeltsin is incapable of controlling the situation in the country.

During a heated debate in the Duma there were proposals to the effect that executive power should be transferred to the Duma (LDPR) and that there should be a vote of no confidence in the government ("Yabloko").

The impression is that when from time to time our deputies get concerned about the Chechen war and the deaths of our soldiers and civilians, it is only because they want to draw attention to themselves again.

The Russian president's position on what happened in Chechnya is unequivocal. He said he was "shaken by the tragedy" at the Chechen settlement of Yarysh-Marda, where, as a result of an attack by Dudayevite gunmen on a convoy of federal forces, dozens of Russian servicemen were killed.

According to Boris Yeltsin, what happened was a "tragedy for Chechnya, for the whole of Russia, for the president." Expressing condolences to the families of the dead servicemen, the head of state said that "it was a planned provocation." "The military leadership is to blame and will answer for what happened," the Russian president stressed.

Russia: Shokhin Wants Chechen Peace Plan Made Known To Duma Leaders

LD2204170796 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1507 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 22 (Interfax) — Aleksandr Shokhin, first deputy chairman of the Russian State Duma, called for a detailed presidential plan on the settlement of the crisis in Chechnya to be made known to leaders of parliamentary parties and chairmen of the Defense and Security Committees.

"The situation is so dynamic that the general plan made at the end of March cannot be useful any more" but a detailed schedule should not necessarily be known to all and sundry, Shokhin told Interfax.

The schedule, he believes, should specify which armed service does what, what form a cordon along Chechnya's administrative borders should take and how the smuggling of arms or manpower from Dagestan, Azerbaijan or Ingushetia into Chechnya should be prevented.

Shokhin feels that the participation of leaders of parliamentary groups in working out such a schedule would show that this is a problem that should be resolved by joint efforts, "even forgetting that this issue is what political rallies are called about in the run-up to the presidential elections."

Shokhin told journalists in the State Duma Monday that the president's peace initiatives will be debated by the State Duma in the coming full sessions because "many elements of these initiatives are not clear to society," in particular, as recent events have shown (with reference to Defense Minister Pavel Grachev's address to the State Duma), "to the country's military leaders."

Now the responsibility for the death of numerous Russian soldiers in the separatist ambush of a federal convoy on April 16 is being shifted from one echelon of command to another, Shokhin believes. That tragedy occurred, he feels, precisely because there was no detailed plan of settlement.

Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev is an unwilling ally of the Communists because it is easier for him psychologically to surrender to new authorities, he said.

Russia: Duma MP Borovoy Reacts to Deprivation of Right to Speak

LD1904130996 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] There was a scandal in the State Duma today involving Speaker Gennadiy Seleznev. The conflict between the deputies started like a bolt out of the blue. During a discussion on Chechnya, Konstantin Borovoy suddenly said that Duma Speaker Gennadiy Seleznev tells lies when speaking about a settlement to the Chechen conflict. Seleznev himself was not in the room at that point. Aleksandr Shokhin, who presided over the sitting, asked Borovoy to use parliamentary language.

Gennadiy Seleznev, who returned shortly, responded by calling Borovoy a scoundrel and scum, and then motioned to deny Borovoy the right to speak for one month. This did not meet a concerted response among the deputies; however, the motion received the right number of votes.

Deprived of his right to speak, Konstantin Borovoy told correspondents in the corridors that Seleznev is a communist, so Borovoy does not regard him as a human being.

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Russia: Duma Refers Budget Amendments Back to Government

MM2204151796 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 96 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "What They Are Talking About" rubric: "The Closer the Election, the Tougher the Duma Becomes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The State Duma has rejected a draft federal law "On Amendments to the Federal Law 'On the 1996 Federal Budget.'"

Recommendations were made in a decree adopted in this connection for the Russian Federation Government to submit to the State Duma within a 10-day period additional materials giving a more accurate picture of budget expenditure in 1996.

It was also recommended that the Russian Federation Government finalize the draft federal law "On Amendments to the Federal Law 'On the 1996 Federal Budget'" within a period of one month.

It is essential that the law reflects expenditure in the 1996 budget for the payment of wage arrears that have built up over 1995.

The government is also instructed to submit to the State Duma a draft federal law "On the Quarterly Distribution of Income (with a cross section of income classifications and tax types) and Expenditure (with a cross section of classifications according to purpose and department and of appropriations for federal programs) for the 1996 Budget," making provision for expenditure on a 20-percent indexation of the minimum wage from 1 April 1996.

Regional Affairs

Russia: Chechens Say Summit Gave Yeltsin 'Free Hand' To Continue War

AU2204113796 Paris AFP in English 1103 GMT 22 Apr 96

[by Nikolai Topouria]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Goyskoye, Russia, April 22 (AFP) — World leaders who met in Moscow over the weekend gave President Boris Yeltsin a "completely free hand" to continue the war in Chechnya, Chechen rebels said Monday.

"The latest approval of Yeltsin's actions in Chechnya gives Russia a totally free hand," said Khassan Abumuslimov, speaker of the ex-rebel parliament.

"It looks like Yeltsin managed to pull the wool over the whole world's eyes," he said in Goyskoye, a destroyed front-line village in southern Chechnya that Russian troops have been trying to take for weeks.

There was virtually no public criticism of the 16-month-old war, which has killed an estimated 40,000 people, during the two-day Group of Seven summit in Moscow, or during U.S. President Bill Clinton's summit with Yeltsin on Sunday.

After meeting Clinton, Yeltsin, who is running for reelection in less than eight weeks, claimed that his peace plan announced March 31 was working and that the war was effectively over.

"There are no military actions going on in Chechnya. Nineteen of the 22 regions of Chechnya have signed peace accords," Yeltsin said.

However, AFP correspondents in the area say that Russian artillery and aerial bombardment of villages and rebel trenches has continued almost daily, and last week rebels wiped out a 30-vehicle armoured column near the southern village of Shatoi.

Clinton reaffirmed the U.S. position of non-interference in Russia's "internal affair" and compared the crackdown against the Chechen separatists to the United States' Civil War in the 19th century.

The southwestern Chechen front commander, Issa Astamirov, said that since the Yeltsin announcement, which promised a ceasefire, peace talks and start of a troop withdrawal, "large amounts of armoured forces have been deployed at all population centres and aviation has begun bombing as never before."

"It's a pity that the heads of the G-7 did not go to Vedeno, where following Yeltsin's peace plan to resolve the Chechen conflict, military operations only increased," he said.

A rebel field commander, who asked not to be named, said that the Chechens were prepared to keep fighting for their goal of independence. [passage omitted]

Russia: Chernomyrdin Demands Security for Troops in Chechnya

LD1904132196 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1307 GMT 19 Apr 96

[By Artem Protasenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, April 19 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin instructed high officials of the power-wielding agencies to ensure due security of federal forces during their redeployment in the Chechen territory.

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On April 18-19, Chernomyrdin held meetings with members of the state commission he heads for the settlement of the Chechen crisis. He met, specifically, Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov, First Deputy Defence Minister and Chief of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces Mikhail Kolesnikov and director of the Federal Security Service Mikhail Barsukov, the government information department told Itar-Tass on Friday.

The prime minister instructed Kolesnikov and Kulikov to ensure due security of federal forces during their re-deployment in the Chechen territory and also urged them to take maximum measures to prevent losses among the personnel, using every means to destroy bands which attacked units of federal forces. These meetings were prompted by tragic events in the Shatoy district in Chechnya were a column of federal troops was ambushed by Dudayev men.

During the conversations, the prime minister said that the actions of Dudayev gunmen can be compared to "the agony of a gravely wounded beast." Dudayev gunmen who are cornered by federal forces do not want peace in Chechen land, he said. Questions of ensuring security during the re-deployment of federal forces and a plan to cut shot terrorist and subversive actions are to be discussed at a regular meeting of the state commission for the settlement of the crisis, planned to be held on April 23.

Russia: Duma's Zorin Sees New Chance for Chechen Peace Talks

LD1904145696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1255 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Apr 19 (Interfax) — Consultations on more negotiations for the settlement of the Chechen problem are underway, chairman of the State Duma Nationalities Committee and member of the government commission for Chechen settlement Vladimir Zorin told Interfax.

The consultations are being held with the help of mediators and via media editions, Zorin said, and decisions are expected to be made on the agenda and venue of future negotiations and the personal composition of the negotiating teams.

The latest statements by chief-of-staff of the separatist forces Aslan Maskhadov prove that people close to separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev have started making "an in-depth analysis of the Russian president's peace initiative and the situation as such," Zorin said.

Nonetheless, the separatists "have offered no adequate response to the multifaceted scenario for peace suggested by Boris Yeltsin." All that Zorin had heard from the separatists was "isolated and highly emotional declarations."

Zorin welcomed Maskhadov's calls for negotiations to be launched before the full pullout of the federal troops from Chechnya, for the resumption of moves by the Special Monitoring Commission and a return to the provisions of the military agreement signed on July 30, 1995, in Groznyy.

It is quite understandable that Maskhadov wants Chechnya to be a subject of international law, Zorin said. After all, Ukraine and Belarus, although part of the Soviet Union, sent their own representatives to the United Nations, but this and other issues must be settled by way of negotiation, he added. THIS

Russia: Chechen Deputy Premier's Car Attacked in Grozayy Suburb

LD2304063596 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0631 GMT 23 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW April 23 (Itar-Tass) - Deputy premier of the Moscow-backed government of Chechnya Bedrudi Dzhamalkhanov was heavily wounded in an assassination attempt in Groznyy on Tuesday.

Itar-Tass learnt at the office of the Chechen government that the assassination attempt was committed soon after 09:00 when the vice-premier's car was in Kalinin village, an eastern suburb of the Chechen capital Grozny.

Dzhamalkhanov's car, heading for the Government House in the centre of the city, got under dense fire from submachine-guns. As a result, the vice-premier was heavily wounded and two accompanying persons were killed, the government's office reported.

Russia: Dudayev More Likely To Surrender to Zyuganov Than Yeltsin

LD2204181696 Moscow NTV in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Apr 96

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The leadership of Russia is ready for a solution, in any form, to the conflict in Chechnya — but on one condition: The republic should remain part of the Russian Federation. Anatoliy Kulikov, minister of internal affairs of Russia, said this today at a meeting with his Finnish colleague, Jan-Erik Enestam. [passage omitted]

Aleksandr Shokhin, first deputy speaker of the State Duma, expressed the opinion that Dudayev — should Gennadiy Zyuganov come to power in the summer — could give himself up to Moscow.

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[Begin Shokhin recording] I do not mean to imply anything about the Communists' position, but objectively, Dudayev is an ally of the Communists, because it is more advantageous for him to surrender to the new authorities. If he even has the idea somewhere in his head of a version of a settlement in which Chechnya remains with the framework of Russia with autonomous status, it is simpler for him to surrender to Zyuganov than to Yeltsin. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Russia: Dudayev Refuses To Meet Russian Officials 'on Principle'

LD2004105396 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Interviewed on Ekho Moskvy radio, Vagap Tutakov, the authorized representative of Dzhokhar Dudayev on the territory of Russia, said that Dudayev will not meet any of the high-ranking Russian Federation representatives, on principle.

It was reported earlier that Dzhokhar Dudayev might have a meeting in Khankala with one of the Russian representatives — the name of Nationalities Minister Vyacheslav Mikhaylov being mentioned.

"Dudayev will only meet those persons who suit both sides and who will take a direct part in the negotiating process in the capacity either of guarantors or mediators. Neither Dudayev nor Aslan Mahkhadov intend to have meetings with anyone else," Tutakov declared.

Russia: Dudayev Softens Position on Peace Talks With Moscow

LD2104190496 Moscow NTV in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 96

[From the "Itogi" program by announcer Yevgeniy Kiselev]

[FBIS Translated Text] An interview with Dzhokhar Dudayev will be published in the new issue of the 'INTERFAX-AiF' ['INTERFAX-ARGUMENTY i FAKTY'] weekly which comes out tomorrow.

In this interview, the rebel general for the first time does not put forward any preliminary conditions for talks with Moscow.

In the opinion of Emil Pain, member of the presidential council, one of those who is responsible for resolving many questions connected with the Chechen settlement, this is a real sensation.

I repeat that despite all of Dudayev's tough and loud rhetoric, a closer look at the interview does not reveal any categorical conditions connected with the start of talks with Moscow. Moreover, Dudayev places responsibility for the declaration of Chechnya's independence upon the supreme council of the republic, which under the chairmanship of Doku Zavgayev, adopted on 12 March 1992 the declaration on the sovereignty of Checheno-Ingushetia.

Although Dudayev's ability to change his opinion several times in one day is well known, it may be said that in the interview to the 'INTERFAX-AiF' weekly, the leader of the Chechen separatists has softened his positions.

Russia: Zavgayev Makes Introductory Speech at Chechen Forum

LD2004113296 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A Chechen people's forum started operating in Groznyy today. Since first thing this morning additional checks were introduced in the Chechen capital. Checkpoints on roads in and out of the town have been reinforced. The entire personnel of the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry are now involved in guarding people's representatives and elders who have come from all corners of Chechnya. Our special correspondent Anton Grishin reports by telephone:

[Begin Grishin recording] The Chechen people are experiencing a terrible tragedy, Leader of the Chechen Republic Doku Zavgayev said in an introductory speech to the participants in the meeting. However, some improvements in stabilizing the economy and social and consumer services are already beginning to show. The federal program to support Chechnya will make it possible in the very near future to pay compensation to those who have incurred material damage, to erect 4.5 million square meters of housing, and to provide for 300,000 jobs.

Zavgayev reminded those gathered that Moscow has allocated 16 trillion rubles and $1 billion toward the restoration of the republic, and gave an assurance that all funds allocated will be used for their designated purpose.

Military operations on the territory must be stopped and the withdrawal of federal forces continued. Peace must return to Chechnya.

Our people are robust and spirtually unbroken. No one else will restore either peace or the economy for us here, Doku Zavgayev said, and called on every Chechen to take personal responsibiity for everything taking place in the republic. It is planned that today the forum will adopt a joint appeal to the Russian president and the

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people of Chechnya. Speeches by Emil Pain and Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, Moscow's official representatives, are also scheduled. The Dudayev envoys who were expected to attend have apparently not arrived in Groznyy, despite the promise to guarantee their personal safety for the entire duration of their stay in the Chechen capital. [end recording]

Russia: Grachev Greets Yeltsin at Khabarovsk Stopover

LD2304092096 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 0800 GMT 23 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Boris Yeltsin stopped over in Khabarovsk today en route for his China visit. He was met at the airport by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who is inspecting the troops of the Far East Military District. Yeltsin's official visit to China starts tomorrow.

Russia: Container of Nuclear Waste Found at Krasnoyarsk Oil Plant

LD2204164696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1507 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KRASNOYARSK, Russia, April 22 (Interfax- Eurasia) — A container filled with radioactive waste was discovered last Friday on the premises of an oil plant in Krasnoyarsk, a local civil defense spokesman said on Monday.

The substance inside the container, a box 20 to 30 centimeters (8 to 12 inches) square, was emitting radiation measuring 260 microroentgens per hour, the spokesman told Interfax-Eurasia.

He said neither the origin of the container nor the nature of the substance inside were clear.

A specialist team removed the container from the plant premises, and a police investigation had been started, the spokesman said.

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International Affairs

Ukraine: Moscow Summit Statement on Ukraine Viewed

LD2204134396 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0738 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Apr — The leaders of the world's eight leading countries who met in Moscow at the end of last week adopted a declaration on Ukraine. The declaration says:

"On 20 April we had a meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and jointly reviewed a wide range of questions involved in raising the level of nuclear safety. We agreed to continue our bilateral and multilateral cooperation with Ukraine in this field.

"President Kuchma declared Ukraine's support for the program to prevent and counter smuggling of nuclear materials and expressed readiness to support the aims and actions set out in the Moscow summit's declaration on nuclear safety. President Kuchma also supported the declaration on a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty.

"The summit recognized the importance of President Kuchma's decision to close the Chernobyl nuclear power station by the year 2000, in accordance with the memorandum of understanding signed on 20 December 1995 in its entirety.

"The states that signed the memorandum confirmed their commitment to its complete implementation. They will cooperate closely with Ukraine and international development banks in drawing up measures to support Ukraine's decision. For his part, President Kuchma reiterated Ukraine's readiness to cooperate actively and effectively within the context of the memorandum.

"We also discussed current EU-funded research into work on the sarcophagus covering the No. 4 reactor at Chernobyl. This research needs to be completed as quickly as possible, before the end of this year. We agreed that once this research is complete, a decision must be taken so that a solution can be found to this problem."

The text of the declaration was made available by the Russian president's press service.

Ukraine: Minister Says Kiev Achieved Goals at Moscow Nuclear Summit

LD2204134796 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1238 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, April 22 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukraine achieved its stated goals at the Moscow nuclear summit, especially in terms of obtaining a guarantee from the G-7 that they would examine the Chernobyl "sarcophagus problem" separately, Environmental Protection and Nuclear Safety Minister Yuriy Kostenko told journalists Monday.

The summit results "give us hope that we can soon begin our Chernobyl program," he said.

"President (Leonid Kuchma) was able to give an objective and detailed account of the problems connected with taking Chernobyl off line," he said. The answer, he believes, was decided ahead of time.

In the final text of the memorandum produced at the summit, a "very important (for Ukraine) phrase was added," he said, in which the G-7 promise to examine the sarcophagus problem at the Chernobyl plant, and to make a decision on financing the work on it.

"This is one of the most expensive programs in taking the plant off-line," he said.

Without solving the sarcophagus problem, he said, speaking of raising safety levels simply via closure of the plant is "utopian."

Ukraine: Agreement on Nuclear Power Usage Signed With China

WS2204143196 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 1222 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, April 20. A delegation from Ukraine's State Committee of Nuclear Power Use has returned from China, where they signed a cooperative agreement on nuclear power usage.

The Ukrainian group traveled to China at the invitation of that country's State Nuclear Industry. The delegation of Ukrainian nuclear engineers was headed by the Committee's Chief Deputy, Nur Nigmatullin.

On Saturday "URYADOVYY KURYER" noted that the two countries signed cooperative safety and processing agreements, marking the second of such accords signed by independent Ukraine, the first of which was signed last year with Canada.

By the year 2000, China is planning to increase the capability of its nuclear power plants from 2 to 20 million Kilowatts, and the Ukrainian delegation has proposed a project of peaceful power usage between the two nations.

Commenting on the significance of his visit, Nigmatullin said, "Today the entire world believes in China's market changes, and America's $30 billion per year investment into the Chinese economy is the best proof of this."

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He added that the Chinese nuclear power industry could become Ukraine's largest perspective market for the sale of nuclear technology and equipment.

Ukraine: Commentary Reviews NATO Secretary General's 'Eventful' Visit

WS2304101596 Kiev VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 17 Apr 96 p 3

[Commentary by Elina Nesterenko: "One Day That Could Change Ukraine's Status. The NATO Secretary General Was Received Very Warmly in Kiev"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *If the average Ukrainian, raised in the USSR, still associates NATO with the enemy, then the NATO secretary general should logically be seen as a monster who dreams only about conquering the entire world and bending it to his will. However, a rather short and smart man with gray hair and a charming smile came out of a plane with NATO symbols, and he did not resemble at all an individual dreaming about reigning over the world. Moreover, in contacts with the Ukrainian press, Mr. Solana presented himself as a very tactful and communicative politician. He began his news conference with the following words: "Excuse me that I do not speak Ukrainian, and thus let me speak in English." Let us note that not a single politician displayed similar "courtesy" before Mr. Solana.*

Javier Solana — a diplomat and former Spanish foreign minister — became the NATO secretary general three months ago. He replaced Willy Claes, who was "removed" ahead of schedule in connection with accusations of involvement in financial machinations. Mr. Solana came to lead the bloc which had already managed to switch its doctrine to peaceful cooperation and collective security. As a matter of fact, he was charged with a difficult task: to arrange partnership with countries which until recently had been considered potential enemies of the North Atlantic alliance.

Just to the Contrary

The official visit to Ukraine by NATO Secretary General Javier Solana was diametrically different from his trip to Moscow. And the matter was not only different goals: partnership with our country should be expanded, while partnership with Russia, as a matter of fact, should be arranged in the spirit of acceptance, so to speak. As everyone knows, Mr. Solana did not find any understanding in the Kremlin. Moreover, it can be said that his conciliatory-educational mission failed. In Kiev, everything was just to the contrary.

At his plane's gangway, the secretary general was met by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko, with whom Mr. Solana had established friendly relations long ago. The one-day visit by Javier Solana was very eventful — talks with the Ukrainian president and foreign and defense ministers and meetings at the Supreme Council and the Cabinet of Ministers. One can confidently say that Ukraine and NATO reached full understanding, and the primary goal of the secretary general's visit — to deepen and expand cooperation with Kiev and fill previously signed documents on special partnership between NATO and Ukraine with concrete substance — was virtually accomplished.

Nevertheless, what made this visit so important for Ukraine? First of all, let us note that although Mr. Solana is touring East European countries which have applied for NATO membership, he began his trip with the visit to our country, even though we are a nonaligned state. This fact confirms that the North Atlantic bloc is very interested in cooperation with our country. However, Mr. Solana himself has repeatedly emphasized that Ukraine plays far from the last role in the future system of common European security. Why? At a minimum because our country is a quite large state located basically in the center of the European continent. And the entire geopolitical situation in Europe will depend on at which shore — NATO or the Tashkent Pact — we will eventually "moor."

Second, this was the first official visit to Ukraine by a NATO secretary general, and the fact that it took place testifies to our country's increasing role in the international arena. Plus, although Mr. Solana's arrival was scheduled long before this April, it occurred at a very "interesting" time: the Russian Federation State Duma denounced the Belovezhskaya Accords; Russia and Belarus signed the agreement on establishing the Community [of Sovereign Republics]; the above two countries plus Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan signed the treaty on deeper integration within the framework of the CIS. To a lesser or greater degree, all thsese events have had repercussions in Ukraine: the left-wing forces have become more active, which has brought about a not quite stable political situation in our country, so to speak. Mr. Solana's arrival was support for Ukraine's constructive forces.

The secretary general emphasized that "sovereign and democratic Ukraine is extremely important for NATO" because it "plays a significant role in the process of establishing stability and security in Europe," and he expressed hope that it would continue to do so. At the Supreme Council, Mr. Solana met with First Deputy Speaker Oleksandr Tkachenko, known because of his leftist views. It cannot be said that our parliament — represented by Mr. Tkachenko — and NATO — represented by Mr. Solana — did not find a common language, although at the beginning of the meeting

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the first deputy speaker considered it necessary to emphasize once again that Ukraine is a nonaligned state. However, the NATO secretary general did not make attempts on our nonalignment anyway....

How Many Steps Are There From Nonalignment to Membership?

Incidentally, statements that the nonaligned status is not constant and sooner or later Ukraine will change it have recently been voiced increasingly frequently in Ukraine's political circles. To a certain degree, this opinion was confirmed by National Security Council Secretary Volodymyr Horbulin, who noted that although in the process of establishing a new security structure one "should not rule out a change in the status of Ukraine" as a nonaligned state, "we should wait." The Ukrainian president said that our country "intends to go toward NATO, and not into NATO."

A quite delicate situation is currently developing on the Eurasian continent. An "attack" by NATO is under way west of Ukraine. Countries which not long ago were members of the Warsaw Pact have expressed their firm will to join the North Atlantic alliance, and it is no longer a secret that this is a result of their fear of Russia's unpredictability. East of our country, the Tashkent treaty on collective security within the framework of the CIS has already been signed. There had been hope that NATO and Moscow would have come to terms with regard to close cooperation, but after Mr. Solana's negotiations with the top people from the Russian Federation it dissipated like smoke. Moreover, publications about the Russian Federation's intention to look for partners in the East — among countries which are traditional enemies of the United States and thus NATO as well — have appeared in the Russian mass media. As a result, we have Europe, which wants to build a security structure, but cannot imagine it without Ukraine and Russia; there is also Russia, which states its intention to "participate in the process of establishing this structure," but at the same time it creates a separate security system in the eastern direction, and cannot imagine it without Ukraine either.

It is hard to hold on for a long time in this "tug-of-war," and this means that we will have to choose anyway, and most likely, judging by the results of the secretary general's visit, we will opt for NATO.

And how will NATO itself react to our country's possible statement about willingness to join the bloc? Mr. Solana, as a former foreign minister and diplomat, was cautious in his assessments. He said that although NATO is an open organization, the Ukrainian parliament has not yet discussed the issue of joining it. Let us note that at the bloc's Brussels-based headquarters there is talk that if our country decides to take this step, there will be no difficulties in admitting us. However, countries which are members of the alliance believe that according to many criteria, Ukraine is not yet ready to become a full NATO member. Therefore, Kiev currently wants to gain a special partnership, and the first steps toward this have already been made. Before Javier Solana's visit, NATO and our country took a variety of measures aimed at expanding the partnership. Last September, the Ukrainian foreign minister coordinated a document on individual partnership in Brussels, and from now on, NATO members willl meet according to the "16-plus-one" formula, that is, 16 countries, members of the bloc, plus Ukraine.

We Will Crush Stereotypes Together

There is one more interesting issue: Will a NATO information center open in our country as well? After all, the majority of our country's population, as well as Russia's, perceive the North Atlantic alliance as an aggressor which dreams about reigning over the world. Against this background, for some people our government's striving for closer cooperation with the alliance may seem to be a wish to give up our country to enemies so they can tear it to pieces. It requires a great deal of force and means to change this stereotype, which originated in the Soviet era. Ukraine cannot cope with this alone. However, since the interest in closer cooperation is mutual, NATO should also strive for destroying its permanent image of an enemy among millions of our people. Although, judging by all signs, this issue was not addressed during the visit, I think it is of great importance for the development of full-fledged partnership.

The NATO secretary general's visit to Kiev was not long, though very eventful. A significant increase in the number of political consultations between the alliance and our country will result from it. Visits to Kiev by the bloc's political and military leadership are scheduled for this year. Also planned are visits to the NATO Headquarters by Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk, Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko, and Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov.

Ukraine: President Travels to Council of Europe Headquarters

LD2204164596 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma left for an official visit to the Council of Europe headquarters in Strasbourg, France, in the evening of 22 April. [passage omitted]

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National Affairs

Ukraine: Paper Claims Secret Rocket Facility Located Near Chernobyl

WS2304105096 Kiev VECHIRNIY KYYIV in Ukrainian 12 Apr 96 p 2

[Article by Yuriy Samoylov: "Whom Does the Mysterious 'Chernobyl-2' Serve?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There is probably no one on earth who has not heard anything about Chernobyl. But there are much fewer people who are familiar with the name "Chernobyl-2." What is more, this facility seems to have nothing to do with the ChAES [Chernobyl power station] and was named strictly due to geographical considerations...

In the extremely contaminated stretch of the 30-km [exclusion] zone, there is a former space communications station and a government communications line running at a distance of less than 10 km from the operational Chernobyl reactors and the infamous sarcophagus. But is the station really former? Just as all other facilities of this kind which used to be subordinated to the Defense Ministry of the USSR, "Chernobyl-2" had the status of a super secret facility in Soviet times. However, it seems to continue to have this status because no senior official from the Ukrainian Defense Ministry leadership, the Chernobyl power plant, or the MNTK [expansion unknown] "Prypyat" have as yet informed the public or people's deputies about who and for what purpose is presently using the facility named "Chernobyl-2". However, the Committee for the Protection of State Secrets said that the facility is not protected by a state secret.

Oleksandr Lalak, deputy of the Kiev Council and head of the Independent Association of Ukrainian Servicemen (NPVU), sought answers for the above questions when he made a tour around the "secret" facility accompanied by NVPU members Mykola Boyko, Anatoliy Murachov, and Viktor Sidletskyy. Unfortunately, a comprehensive inspection of all four technical zones proved impossible — ostensibly because of the absence of a competent person. Moreover, when the inspection team went to the No. 3 technical zone, a group of very hostile people emerged out of nowhere. By the way, they had two-headed [Russian] eagles shining on their service caps.... Because the aggressive strangers were more numerous, the group had to leave zone No. 3. Incidentally, the chief of the secret part of "Chernobyl-2" was not surprised by this incident. Nor did he provide any explanations. Besides, Oleksandr Lalak's group was watched from several automobiles whose license plates were deliberately stained with mud....

The investigation revealed that the facility's ground equipment is completely destroyed. This is shown in the pictures that Mr. Lalak gave our newspaper along with documents about the inspection of "Chernobyl-2." On the other hand, the inspection group has established that antennas of the horizon radar complex [zahoryzontnyy radiolokatsiynyy kompleks] and the space communications system "Kruh" remain operational. Second, the facility employees confirmed that the biological antenna and the laser interferometric graviton, also operational, actually exist in zones No. 3 and 4. However, these two facilities are maintained and protected by certain subunits which have nothing to do with MNTK "Prypyat" or the Ukrainian Defense Ministry.

Summing up the inspection's evidence and certain well-known facts, we have to draw a sad conclusion. After all, as early as in 1972, the Soviet Union and the United States signed the "Brilliant Bable" [preceding name rendered in English; as published] treaty on joint efforts in the plasma antirocket defense sphere. Last year, that treaty was unilaterally cancelled by the United States because the Soviet Union, and then Russia, failed to make good on many of its provisions on the exchange of technological information. To make it more simple, the USSR used American research results to develop defense systems against American missiles.... This is the reason why zones similar to the "Chernobyl-2" were set up in the USSR. They have no analogues anywhere in the world....

According to some evidence, there are six zones of this kind in Ukraine alone. Hence, American missiles must be aimed at such zones. Considering the fact that modern missiles have cluster warheads which are designed to spread destruction along the ground, it is easy to imagine what will happen after a "preemptive" strike of an American missile on "Chernobyl-2." After all, the operational ChAES reactors are at a stone's throw....

Meanwhile, the whole facility is continuing to operate for someone. Not for Ukraine, Oleksandr Lalak believes. And all this on the territory of a sovereign state which declared its neutrality six years ago, let alone the fact that this facility consumes a great deal of energy — which is also Ukrainian property. Perhaps the time has come for broad social circles to learn for whom the mysterious "Chernobyl-2" really works?

Editorial Postscript: Our paper raised the issue of the "Chernobyl-2" facility several times; in particular, its connection with the research on psychotronic weapons. They looked at us as if we were kooks; or, they lied, saying that nothing of the kind ever existed. Will the reaction be similar this time? We are waiting for rele-

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vant institutions, primarily the Ukrainian Security Service and Defense Ministry, to provide their explanations.

Ukraine: Cabinet Presidium Discusses Nuclear Waste Treatment

LD2204191196 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1655 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers presidium has discussed a draft state program for dealing with radioactive waste in Ukraine for the period 1996-2000, UNIAN learned at the government press office. It was noted at the sitting that adoption of the programme would make it possible to coordinate the efforts of all those dealing with nuclear waste. It was noted that nuclear waste and waste sources of ionized radiation were being accumulated in Ukraine not only at nuclear power stations, but also at enterprises and medical and scientific establishments, which creates the conditions for the occurrence of radiation accidents. It was noted that implementation of the program would be part of work on eliminating the after-effects of the Chernobyl nuclear power station accident, in particular when turning the "Cover" facility into an ecologically safe system.

A special state fund for dealing with nuclear waste is to be set up, which will be formed by deducting funds for the further storage and disposal of waste from nuclear waste producers, which will considerably reduce expenditure from the state budget.

The Cabinet of Ministers presidium approved a draft resolution on this issue, which envisages that the Chernobyl ministry will be in charge of managing the field of dealing with nuclear waste.

Ukraine: Chernobyl Sarcophagus Contains 2,000 Tonnes of Nuclear Fuel

LD2204184996 Moscow NTV in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 96

[From the "Itogi" program]

[FBIS Summary] To mark the 10th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear power station accident, NTV Television's "Itogi" program features a three-minute video report on the power station as it is today, featuring "unique footage" filmed by a Ukrainian Television crew of the interior of the sarcophagus covering the stricken fourth reactor.

In an interview, Sergey Parashin, general director of the station, says though the current, hastily-constructed sarcophagus is giving no grounds for concern, a new one needed to be built over the original one and the contents inside — an estimated 2,000 tonnes of nuclear fuel — treated, a task that will take 30 years. He describes as "primitive" plans to shut the station down, a reaction echoed by people living in the nearby model town of Slavutich. Slavutich, which has a population of 25,000 and enjoys a very high standard of amenities, exists purely because of the Chernobyl station, local people said; they have become used to living in the radiation zone and regard radiation-related sicknesses as normal.

Economic Issues

Ukraine: Leading Banks' Market Shares, Assets

964F1699A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (EKONOMICHESKIY SOYUZ Supplement) in Russian 30 Mar 96 p 10

[Unattributed article: "Top 10 Commercial Banks in Ukraine"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This rating was compiled on the basis of an analysis of the financial indicators of commercial bank operations as of 1 January 1996. The Bank-Inform information analysis center of the Association of Ukrainian Banks used the data of the short-form balance sheets of 107 banks (85 of which are members of the association). Although these are only preliminary results of the operations of Ukrainian banks in 1995, the rating system is sufficiently objective.

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Proprietary Capital and Authorized Capital of Top 10 Banks in Ukraine (as of 1 January 1996, in billions of karbovantsy)

Bank	City	Date of registration	Number of branches	Proprietary capital			Authorized capital	
				Amount	% of total	In % of 1 Jan 95	Amount	In % of 1 Jan 95
Ukraina	Kiev	27 Sep 91	540	24,423.7	25.53	330.17	3,725.1	425.98
Ukrsotsbank	Kiev	27 Sep 91	137	13,531.4	14.14	282.77	930.1	372.04
Gradobank	Kiev	9 Oct 91	32	8,117.5	8.48	452.96	5,840.4	1,168.07
Sberbank	Kiev	31 Dec 91	647	5,564.2	5.82		675.4	
PUMB	Donetsk	23 Dec 91	6	5,383.9	5.63	418.01	188.7	584.16
Privatbank	Dnepropetrovsk	19 Mar 92	41	3,154.0	3.30	345.84	1,000.1	563.78
Aval	Kiev	27 Mar 92	42	3,079.6	3.22	648.88	1,072.3	581.08
Ukrinbank	Kiev	24 Jan 89	33	2,475.4	2.59	390.41	250.0	228.33
Ukrkreditbank	Kiev	30 Sep 92	2	1,998.6	2.09	160.18	100.0	333.33
Ukrneftegazbank	Kiev	18 Jun 93	7	1,280.2	1.34	2,396.39	1,053.0	10,244.02

Bank profits in the fourth quarter of 1995 totaled 40.2 trillion karbovantsy—i.e., almost 2.5 times the figure for the third quarter (16.5 trillion). The average profit margin of the authorized capital of banks on 1 January 1996 had climbed to 238 percent. The solvency rate of all the banks was above the level recommended by the National Bank (no lower than 5 percent) and averaged 29 percent, so that the banks had an average of 3.4 karbovantsy of attracted funds for each karbovanets of their own capital.

The banks' own capital amounted to more than 95.5 trillion karbovantsy, and their authorized capital totaled 29.6 trillion. The average increase in the banks' own capital and authorized capital since 1 January 1995 was below the annual rate of inflation for 16 percent and 18 percent of the banks respectively. More than half of the banks' own capital (54 percent) belonged to four banks.

Virtually all of the banks in the top 10 increased their capital in the last two months of 1995 (November and December), and only the largest of them, Ukraina, reduced the amount of its own capital by almost one-fourth. Eight of the top 10 banks in Ukraine are located in the capital and have a broad network of branches. If we compare Ukrainian banks to Russian banks in terms of amounts of capital, we have to admit that the largest bank in Ukraine (with the equivalent of around R620 billion of its own capital at the beginning of 1996) probably would not be included among the top 10 Russian banks (in October 1995 there was only a slight difference between the amount of its own capital and the indicator for the Capital Savings Bank—just over R830 billion).

Foreign Exchange Assets (on 1 January 1996)

Bank	City	Foreign Exchange assets	% of total	In % of 1 Jan 95
Ukraina	Kiev	177,102.4	23.36	150.72
Ukrsotsbank	Kiev	120,326.5	15.87	209.46
Sberbank	Kiev	110,046.3	14.51	
Privatbank	Dnepropetrovsk	69,901.7	7.90	296.01
Gradobank	Kiev	52,275.2	6.89	274.30
Aval	Kiev	39,974.9	5.27	500.92
Ukrinbank	Kiev	29,344.4	3.87	244.25
PUMB	Donetsk	26,718.8	3.39	365.62

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Bank	City	Foreign Exchange assets	% of total	In % of 1 Jan 95
Ukrsotsbank	Kiev	8,801.4	1.16	216.19
ZUKB	Lvov	8,216.8	1.08	381.62

The banks' foreign exchange assets totaled 757.8 trillion karbovantsy, and 53.6 percent of the hard currency was concentrated in the three largest banks. The increase in the forex assets of 40 percent of the banks since 1 January 1995 was below the annual rate of inflation (280 percent). The assets of almost one out of every two commercial banks had been devalued by the beginning of this year.

An analysis of the amounts of the banks' own capital, authorized capital, and forex assets indicates that Ukraina, Ukrsotsbank, and Sberbank were still the most influential links of the banking system in 1995 in terms of the concentration of banking capital.

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Belarus

Belarus: Minsk Officials 'Bewildered' By Lukashenka's Omission From Summit

MM2204130296 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 96 p 3

[Report by Viktor Dyatlikovich: "Great Powers Offend Belarus"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Minsk — The opening in Moscow of the meeting of G-7 heads of state on questions of nuclear security prompted an unexpected reaction in Belarus. Minsk officials took a dim view of the fact that the country's president, Alyaksandr Lukashenka, was not invited.

"We are totally bewildered that Belarus was not invited to Moscow," Andrey Sannikov, Belarus deputy foreign minister, said in an interview for BELARUSSKAYA GAZETA. "It appears that the West is demonstrating its disregard for Belarus, whose interests are directly affected by many items on the meeting agenda.

"I venture to suggest," he noted, "that Belarus is a full-fledged party to the treaties determining the international strategic nuclear balance, that it is a party to accords relating to the scrapping of fissile materials, and, finally, that there are still nuclear weapons on its territory."

According to Sannikov, the only explanation for the way the many months of effort by the Belarus Foreign Ministry geared to Lukashenka's participation in the Moscow meeting were ignored is the West's fear that the Belarusian side would "press pretty hard for assistance in dealing with the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident and reluctance in that connection to make any decisions at the G-7 level."

Petr Kravchenko, chairman of the Belarusian parliamentary commission on international affairs, said in an interview for IZVESTIYA that "the situation that has taken shape concerning the meeting of the G-7, Russia, and Ukraine is a major affront to Belarus."

According to Kravchenko, the Russian president tried to secure Alyaksandr Lukashenka's presence at the meeting, but the "leaders of the G-7 countries were categorically opposed to it." According to Kravchenko, this stance could be due to the "equivocal view" in the West of the integration processes between Belarus and Russia.

Belarus: Exiled Popular Front Head on Situation, Relations With Poland

WS2204100496 Warsaw Radio RMF FM Network in Polish 0605 GMT 19 Apr 96

[Interview with Zyanon Paznyak, head of the Belarusian Popular Front, by Bogdan Rymanowski at the Radio RMF FM Network studio in Warsaw on the "Guest of Radio RMF FM" program — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rymanowski] Why did you leave Belarus?

[Paznyak] For me, there are no conditions in Belarus for conducting political activities, and there are no security assurances. After the mass demonstrations which were held on 24 March and on 2 April, political persecutions began against me and my friends representing the Belarusian Popular Front. That means that my car was being followed by other cars; I was being watched at home, as well as my friend Navumchyk with whom I came here; there had been attempts to break through my doors. When on 26 March I left my apartment, I noticed that there were a lot of police around.

[Rymanowski] All in all, you did not feel safe in Belarus.

[Paznyak] This is true. I received a telephone call to the effect that the police were waiting for me at a conference in which I was going to participate. Afterwards, my friend Navumchyk's wife came and said that the area was surrounded by police armed with rifles, assault rifles. I do not know what this all means. If there is something they have against me, then why they did not approach me and say what it was? I thought that they wanted to detain me with nobody around. Perhaps they wanted to do that while I was driving a car. Therefore, I spent two or three days in someone else's apartment. All this time there were patrols on the streets. There was also a strange incident — someone broke into my apartment. Therefore, I left for Ukraine to tell about what is happening in Belarus and about the regime.

[Rymanowski] However, Presidential Administration Deputy Head Uladzimir Zamyatalin maintains that no law enforcement bodies, police, or special services are looking for you.

[Paznyak] You see, this regime, this generally procommunist regime has the following specific feature: They tell a lot of lies. This is a regime of lies. Communism was a lie, too. They say currently that in 1995 nobody called for military troops to come to the parliament and that nobody was beaten up. This was the reason why the video on which everything was recorded was not

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shown to the public, the criminal investigation was suspended, and so on. We cannot believe in what these people say given that they have infringed on the citizens' rights; they have violated the Constitution and the laws; suspended the trade unions; they shot down a U.S. balloon, taking the lives of two people. After all, President Lukashenka said that Adolf Hitler is the pattern to follow. He said that the Nazi order is an example for him how to build the Republic of Belarus.

[Rymanowski] Is the statement made by Mr. Zamyatalin — who has said that you were forced to find a place for yourself outside Belarus because the Belarusian Popular Front is not popular there — also a lie? He said the proof of that is the fact that your movement did not win a single mandate in the parliamentary elections.

[Paznyak] Regardless of the regime, the Belarusian Popular Front had 40-45 percent support during the elections. Nevertheless, it did not gain a single mandate. This explains what kind of elections we had. It is good that there were no assault rifles or tanks. I knew at that time that these were antidemocratic and false elections. Moscow had made a decision and recommended to our authorities that not a single member of the Belarusian Popular Front should receive a mandate. So, they did a good job. However, we should not say that the Belarusian Popular Front is not popular in Belarus. On the contrary, it is very popular.

[Rymanowski] Let us proceed to Polish-Belarusian issues. How do you assess the recent meeting between Presidents Kwasniewski and Lukashenka in Viskuli?

[Paznyak] I was not invited to participate in this meeting, although there were people who were said to belong to the opposition.

[Rymanowski] But do they actually belong to the opposition?

[Paznyak] No. It was not the opposition.

[Rymanowski] When you arrived in Poland, you said in Wroclaw that you hoped to have a meeting with President Aleksander Kwasniewski. Is there such a possibility? Perhaps you may ask the president during this conversation whether he asked about it [as heard].

[Paznyak] I asked my friends in Wroclaw to apply to the Presidential Office and ask for a meeting. I do not know ...

[Rymanowski] No decision has been made so far?

[Paznyak] Well, I asked them about it yesterday.

[Rymanowski] After the negotiations held in Moscow with President Yeltsin, President Kwasniewski said that Russia does have the right to veto Poland's admission to NATO, while Poland does not have the right to oppose the union between Russia and Belarus. How do you assess this kind of stance?

[Paznyak] I think that a political activist should deal with politics, and his policy should be advantageous to his country. I do not know to what degree this kind of policy is advantageous to Poland, but it is obvious that this policy is advantageous to Moscow.

[Rymanowski] Are you saying that the policy pursued by President Kwasniewski is advantageous to Russia?

[Paznyak] It seems that President Kwasniewski allowed Russia to do with Belarus whatever it wants. Therefore, they did what they wanted. Now they say — using Lukashenka as a mouthpiece — that tactical rockets will return to Belarus. Where do you think these rockets will be located? On the Polish borders.

[Rymanowski] How do you think Poland can help the independent Belarus? How can we help the Belarusian Popular Front and the people who fight for their country?

[Paznyak] Poland can help a lot given that, in my opinion, Poland has an interest in a sovereign, independent, and democratic Belarus. The existence of an independent Belarus is very important for Poland. Let the Russian empire be farther away from Poland; this will naturally be better. Let the Russian empire exist as long as it does not pursue its policy using Belarus's and Lukashenka's hands. I think that this is in Poland's interests. It is very dangerous to play politics with the Russian empire. All who played with the Russian empire eventually became losers. It is a very dangerous thing. I think that Polish democracy, too, can help by providing decent information, political and moral support, and by making some political decisions. There is a possibility to do that. I also believe that this opportunity will be used. At the moment, I can feel moral support in Poland and I am grateful to my Polish friends.

[Rymanowski] Thank you very much for the conversation.

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Georgia

Georgia: Accords Signed With S. Ossetia Under Russian Supervision

LD1904123796 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 0955 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Tskhinvali, 19 Apr — A document of major importance has been signed in Tskhinvali on settling the Georgian-Ossetian conflict. The agreement envisages a zero variant. The current authorities of the Tskhinvali region had to sign the agreement after Boris Pastukhov, the Russian first deputy foreign minister, had visited Tskhinvali. Pastukhov warned the South Ossetian authorities that unless they sign the agreement, Russian peacekeeping forces will leave the area.

It should be noted that the signing of the document does not imply that all contradictions between the sides have been eliminated. The document stipulates the broadening of mutual trust and further control over the cease-fire process.

Georgia: OSCE Envoy Upbeat on Georgian-Ossetian Peace Settlement

LD2004155396 Tbilisi BGI in Russian 1150 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The memorandum signed in Tskhinvali shows that the Georgian-Ossetian conflict will soon be settled, said Ambassador Dieter Boden, the head of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission in Georgia. I believe that in order to cooperate peacefully and live together, Ossetians and Georgians will not need international mediators, the ambassador added.

Georgia: Three Stages Defined for Settling Georgia-Ossetia Conflict

LD2004102796 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1000 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Tskhinvali, 20 Apr — According to an agreement reached in Tskhinvali, three stages have been defined for the final settlement of the Georgian-Ossetian conflict. The first stage provides for strengthening security between the two sides, the memorandum on which has already been signed. The second stage provides for the economic revival of the region, and the third stage envisages defining South Ossetia's political status within Georgia.

Georgia: Abkhaz Leader's Ally Visits London With Secret Instructions

LD1904141096 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1315 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 19 Apr (IPRINDA) — The press service of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia circulated a statement today as follows:

"An informed source from Sukhumi told the press service of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia that one of [Abkhaz rebel leader Vladislav] Ardzinba's close allies left for London. His mission is to hand Charles Chkotua, the Chechen envoy to London, a secret package of instructions from Dzhokhar Dudayev."

The same source reports that 57-year-old Charles Chkotua has an accreditation as Chechnya's envoy signed by Dudayev and addressed to all members of the European Union.

Chkotua once acted as [former Georgian president] Zviad Gamsakhurdia's envoy.

Georgia: Presidential Guard Chief Not Involved in Nuclear Smuggling

MK2004110496 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 19 Apr 96 p 8

[Report by Mikhail Vignanskiy from Tbilisi: "Chief of Eduard Shevardnadze's Security Service Did Not Engage in Smuggling. Nuclear Topic Has Become Urgent in Georgia, Too"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Thursday [18 April], Vakhtang Abashidze, press secretary to Eduard Shevardnadze, categorically denied some media reports suggesting that the chief of the Georgian president's security service could be involved in the smuggling of highly enriched uranium-235. Despite this, an official investigation is being carried out, upon completion of which more comments will be given. According to published reports, last October the chief of the Georgian president's security service was contacted in Batumi by Turkish "merchants." It was allegedly agreed that sales of uranium-235 designed for further transportation to the Middle East will continue. The Turks were later detained in Egypt.

The "nuclear" topic is not new for Georgia. Recently, two policemen found "a container with radioactive waste" in a railroad storehouse in Kutaisi, left behind there as long ago as in 1992. That time, some quarantine measures were only required in order to avoid dire consequences.

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Now, according to the local press, anyone who wished could get into a special storage facility for toxic and radioactive waste located just near the Georgian capital. The territory is only partially fenced, its four "regular" security guards have no adequate inventory, and their symbolic salary of seven lari (28,000 Russian rubles) [about $6] obviously cannot serve as an incentive for labor enthusiasm. The storage facility is already 35 years old, but the authorities have no money to repair it.

Georgia: Moscow Allegedly Demands Control Over Georgian Pipelines

LD2004105196 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1000 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi 20 [April] — An Iberia correspondent has learned from a reliable source at the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers that in return for restoring Georgia's territorial integrity, Russia demands from Georgia that the latter should allow Russia to establish control on oil pipelines which may run across Georgia from the Caspian Sea to Turkey. In particular, the Russian government demands from Georgia that several Russian concerns participate in reconstructing the Baku-Batumi oil pipeline.

Georgia: Shevardnadze Leaves for Luxembourg To Sign Accord With EU

LD2204091896 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 0830 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 22 Apr — An IPRINDA correspondent has been told at the Georgian president's press secretariat that on 21 April, [Georgian President] Eduard Shevardnadze left for Luxembourg where, on 22 April, the leaders of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan will sign an agreement "On Partnership and Cooperation" with the European Union.

Shevardnadze's meetings with the leaders of the Transcaucasian republics, as well as with Grand Duke of Luxembourg Jean, have been planned in Luxembourg.

On 22 April, the Georgian delegation will fly to Brussels where Eduard Shevardnadze will meet NATO Secretary General Javier Solana.

The schedule of the Georgian president's visit to Belgium includes meetings with Belgian businessmen.

Eduard Shevardnadze will return to Tbilisi on 23 April.

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